
Class No.....

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JUSTICE FOR HUNGARY !

THE CRUEL ERRORS OF TRIANON

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DEDICATED IN ALL HUMILITY
TO FAIR-MINDED HUMANITY BY

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Pre-war Hungary covered an area of 325 000 square kilometres, of which the Peace Treaty of Trianon has taken away 232.000 km².

A map of Hungary according to the Treaty of Trianon. The map shows the original Hungarian territory in dark grey and the territories lost in light grey. Arrows indicate directions to neighboring countries: to Czechoslovakia (northwest), to Austria (west), to Rumania (east), and to Serbia (south). Major cities labeled include Budapest, Pozsony, Eszék, Győr, Pécs, Kassa, Debrecen, Szatmár, Nagyvárad, Kézdivárad, Kőszeg, Szeged, and Fiume. The Danube River is shown flowing through the country.

A map of Great Britain and Ireland. Four arrows point from different parts of the map to labels: one from the north to 'to Norway', one from the east to 'to Germany', one from the west to 'to the U.S.A.', and one from the south to 'to France'. The cities 'LIVERPOOL' and 'LONDON' are marked on the map.

Dear Reader.

We would ask you to glance cursorily at the two maps of your glorious country which we give below. We apologise in advance for the feelings which the sight of one of these maps is bound to arouse in you, for surely no one could help being infuriated by even the mere suggestion that the map of his native land — every feature of which is so deeply imprinted in his soul — could ever be cut up in this fashion! But when a man is writhing in agony and bleeding from innumerable wounds, and appealing in his extremity to the Good Samaritans of the world, he does not stop to think of the pain his words may cause to others.

You are a Briton, the proud son of a free country. Just imagine a group of ignoramuses unversed in history and geography, in law and ethnography, bending over the map of your country, pencil in hand, and inserting at haphazard in that inviolable symbol of your national unity lines running zigzag without rhyme or reason! A single millimetre traced on the paper involves thousands of human beings in a loss of country, and in untold misery and physical suffering; yet the hands drawing the lines do not waver: they move with the precision born of indifference and unconcern. This is how the map of present-day Hungary was drawn in the lovely Trianon Palace; and this is how in our despair we are driven to draw the map of Great Britain to bring home to you, dear reader, the ignominy that has been done to Hungary.

A single flourish of the hand guiding the Trianon pencil was sufficient to draw the new State called Czecho-Slovakia. For that purpose the hand cut away nearly a quarter of Hungary that had been part of the mother country for 1200 years — i. e. since the days of Alfred the Great, — which was for all the world like taking away a quarter of Great Britain and handing it over to Norway! A rough sketch of such an operation would show the territory thus cut off to include Glasgow, Aberdeen and Edinburgh. What? — The ancient Bridge of Balgownie, sung of by Byron, a Norwegian possession? The notion is too absurd! But not more so than the Bridge of Komárom — under the shadow of which Maurice Jókai, the great Hungarian novelist, was born — guarded by Czech soldiers! Glasgow a Norwegian town? — The town in which James Watt achieved one of the greatest triumphs of the British intellect? Yet here you see Kassa — where

the mortal remains of Francis Rákóczi, the most glorious representative of the Hungarian spirit of independence, lie at rest in the Cathedral — converted into a Czech town! Edinburgh a Norwegian town? — Edinburgh, once the seat of the ancient Scottish dynasties, where the royal emblems of the Scottish Kings are still preserved and revered by the Scotch nation? But then why should Pozsony, of all places in the world, become a Czech town? — Pozsony, the ancient coronation city of the Hungarian Kings and the ancestral home of Hungarian parliamentarianism?

But that is not all. The Trianon pencil cut off seven and a half per cent, of Hungary's ancient territory and gave it to the newly-created Kingdom of Yugoslavia. To illustrate what has happened here, let us cut off a big slice of British territory and give it to France. Just imagine Dover being a French town during a hostile attack from without! The very suggestion is exasperatingly silly! And yet that is exactly our position with the Hungarian town Szabadka — whose very name means „free city“ — in Yugoslav hands! And in the drawings to be found below we have not been guilty of perpetrating the diplomatic joke indulged in by the persons demarcating our new frontiers, — we have not made the drafting of our imaginary frontier-lines dependent upon the position of the estates of the men who are politically „harmless“: nor have we cut off homesteads from the wells that provide their water supply, or towns from highroads.

Under the Treaty of Trianon Rumania acquired more than one third of old Hungary, — thus inflicting a loss of territory more considerable in area than the whole of new Hungary. It is like taking the whole of Ireland and giving it to the United States, — an operation which is mild by comparison: for while the suggestion of Dublin being an American town is fantastic in the extreme, it is not so screamingly funny as the idea of our Kolozsvár — a town with a Magyar population — being called Cluj and belonging to Rumania!

Finally, let us cut off a bit of the body of your map and give it to Germany. Let us imagine Leeds to be a German commercial centre. For that is what has happened to us; a bit of our country has been allotted by the Treaty of Trianon to a fourth foreign State, — to Austria, if you please! *Our former ally, on whose behalf our country was plunged into the Great War!*

And now just compare this with the picture of Great Britain which your patriotic feelings have imprinted so indelibly in your mind. What remains of Great Britain is less than one-third of her former territory. London can be bombarded with ease from German territory, — just as Budapest can be today from the Czech-Hungarian frontier; while on the side facing France there is nothing to protect the small country from invasion, — just as Hungary today is utterly defenceless on three sides; *Great Britain, formerly isolated by her own sea from the Continent, has enemies in the country itself, — just as Hungary, once isolated by the natural ring of the Carpathians, has all three of her neighbours in the country itself.* And the British inhabitants of the part of Britain left intact are compelled to sit with folded arms and listen to the desperate appeals for help of their brethren beyond the frontiers who are suffering from the intolerable brutalities of a monstrous oppression.

For these pictorial illustrations, ruthless as they are, do not exhaust the whole matter. It is not only a question of the demarcation of absurd frontiers, but also of the subsequent operations of the neighbouring countries to „correct“ by force the ratios of nationalities in the territories they have stolen. The first means employed for such „correction“ is the bastinado, a means of „gentle persuasion“ in general vogue in Yugoslavia and Rumania since the sequestered territories changed masters. Thus, the new masters of your lost territories would have the former British subjects bastinadoed, — twenty-five strokes being administered to them in public, (sometimes a hundred, or even two hundred strokes, so that some of the victims actually die!) merely for being British and for allowing their embitterment to find vent in unguarded words! Imagine the horror of hearing the cries of your former compatriots being bastinadoed beyond the new frontiers of your dismembered country! Women too!! You know what that means? British women. British ladies of distinction, being bastinadoed in public in the new countries for saying something that was not to the liking of their new masters! This is no mere nightmare of a morbid imagination; it is what has happened — literally — in our case. And then in all these new countries alike the mere fact of your being British will be ground enough for a cunning scheme of land reform to deprive you of your land, your house and your farm, and distribute them among the settlers planted in your old home by the conqueror States. British officials who by a long term of laborious service have earned the right to pensions, driven by the new régimes to leave the land where their families have lived peacefully for centuries! What does it matter that the poor unfortu-

nate Britishers are unable within 24 hours to realise the furniture and the clothes left in their possession? Let them leave all these things behind them, or sell them for a song for the cattle-trucks which are to carry them away from their native land cannot be detained a moment. Every Britisher has to pay tenfold taxes in these new countries; he may appeal, of course: but he has to pay first. By the time he has won his case (if he does actually succeed in doing so), he has had to sell his business or his house for a mere song in order to be able to pay his taxes. He cannot send his children to a school where the language of instruction is English, but is compelled to acquiesce in their being taught in a foreign language, and deprived of the opportunity of learning even to write their mother tongue.

When the time for the census comes, he has to look on while the census questionnaires are being filled up by another, and to tolerate the application of the quaint invention called „name-analysis“, which consists in declaring that every one of the name of Williamson or Reynolds is a German, seeing that these names, by the unerring law of philology, are the equivalents of Wilhelmsohn and Reinwalds, — while Fitzmaurice must be a Frenchman, seeing that science shows this name to mean „fils de Maurice“, — and Burne must be a Norwegian, the name being the same as the Scandinavian Björn. Englishmen with such names may protest as much as they like against this insinuation; the census taken in the new country will class them as Germans, Frenchmen or Norwegians. In the new countries no public offices are open to Britishers; Britons may not be given public contracts; while in respect of their political rights they are subject to constant intimidation. On the other hand, however, they must do military service, in order to be able when the time comes to fix bayonets, attack their native country, and fire on their racial kin beyond the new frontiers.

We ask you, dear Reader, who are a British subject, — what would you say to all this?

Should you answer that under such circumstances you would snatch up the first weapon that came to hand and blindly attack the whole world, your answer would not cause any surprise. Yet we have not seized the first weapons that came to hand; with clenched teeth we sit and bear the humiliation put upon us: for we cannot do otherwise, if we would remain alive. The slightest attempt to show force would be suicide on Hungary's part.

The Treaty of Peace abolished the Hungarian army. The Hungarian military authorities may not recruit conscripts: all they are

allowed to do is to enrol 35.000 volunteers. In order to prevent any trick overreaching this provision relating to the footing of the army, in our towns the police force must not be larger than it was prior to the Great War, the same stipulation applying also to the customs and excise officers: indeed, to make matters surer still, we are forbidden to give our police or customs and excise officers any military training whatsoever. The army of volunteers limited to a minimum number may not have any heavy artillery and may not organise flying formations; our industry is forbidden to manufacture arms: while our civil inhabitants are forbidden to provide themselves with gas masks — at a time when the whole world is talking of the horrible eventualities of gas attacks. Just imagine all this being effected at the expense of Great Britain!!

What is the number of the peaceful lambs protected by such circumspect regulations against the hordes of Hungarian wolves? Shall we tell you? Yugoslavia, Czecho-Slovakia and Rumania have *only* some five and a half million innocent lambs (that is the war footing of their armies) provided with heavy artillery, an immense supply of war material, strategic roads of superb construction running along the new frontiers, gas, flying squads, and a gigantic supply of wagons and tanks. Whenever a cry of despair concerning the savage war-schemes of the Hungarians is voiced in the columns of some paper appearing in either of the Succession States, you must take it to mean that *the 35.000 men referred to above are preparing by dint of the enormous military power represented by their defencelessness to trample under foot this poor, superbly equipped army of five and a half million men.*

No: the inhabitants of Hungary — reduced in number from twenty to eight millions — would have to be all madmen to even dream of preparing for war. The cries of complaint published now and again with a purpose in the Yugoslav, Rumanian and Czecho-Slovak papers, with their talk of the wicked intentions of the Hungarians, have another reason which is psychologically extremely comprehensible. Persons with bad consciences are in the habit of making a noise to divert attention from themselves. All three of these Succession States know and feel in their inmost souls that what they have been doing uninterruptedly for over ten years with the Hungarian territories subjected to their rule, and with the Hungarian inhabitants of those territories, is one of the most revolting outrages on law and right in the history of the world.

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Do you know why the bell of your church rings every day at noon? It is to remind you of the debt of gratitude which the whole Christian world owes to Hungary. When he received the news of the splendid victory by which John Hunyadi, the great Hungarian general, had saved the Europe that had been regarded as doomed from the onrush of Turkish barbarism, the Pope of Rome ordained that in future, at noon, the hour in which Hunyadi had achieved his victory, the bells of every church in Christendom should ring a thanksgiving peal in honour of the Hungarians. These bells were rung also on the day on which the Treaty of Trianon was signed; and by that Treaty the gratitude of Europe deprived Hungary of two-thirds of her territory.

In one of his books, after having spoken of the self-sacrificing loyalty with which Hungary defended Western civilisation against the inroads of Eastern barbarism, Michelet, the great French historian, concludes by asking — „When shall we find an opportunity of paying our debt to the grand Hungarian nation, the saviour of the Occident?”

Europe would appear to have found her opportunity in the Treaty of Trianon.

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A logical thinker tries to discover a method and a meaning even in the nightmares of a person suffering from typhus. That is why we are anxious to find out the reason compelling the authors of the Treaty of Trianon to mete out such savage and ruthless treatment to Hungary!

We are told that Hungary deserved her fate, for she was responsible for provoking the Great War.

That is not true! *At the conferences in Vienna Count Stephen Tisza, Prime Minister of Hungary, to the very last protested against all measures likely to lead to war.* It was not his fault that this protest did not achieve its object. His failure was due to the subordinate rôle — absolutely without serious influence — which her position made Hungary play in the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy of former times.

We are told that Hungary had to be cut up because prior to the Great War she had oppressed the non-Magyar nationalities.

That is not true either! The truth is that *pre-War Hungary — from the nationality point of view — was one of the most tolerant countries in Europe.* In the pre-War years — the age of rampant „nationalism” — there was hardly a country with a mixed population where the race constituting the majority did not endeavour to absorb the racial minorities and for that purpose to persecute and oppress them. Hungary refused at that time

too to employ such means. Yet at that time there were no minority treaties; nor had the duty of respecting the rights of minorities been raised to the dignity of an international obligation.

We are told that the new adjustment was demanded by justice; for that new adjustment has secured the validity of the right of self-determination.

That is not true either! For those peoples which were severed from Hungary were never asked to express their wishes. The situation in this respect during the Paris peace negotiations was a quite extraordinary one. It was the Hungary condemned to partition that demanded a plebiscite, saying: — „Ask those nationalities which I am alleged to have oppressed, to declare their wishes. Ask them whether they feel a need for „liberation“, and whether they feel they must be separated from their former fatherland.“ *The „liberators“, on the other hand, — the Czechs, Rumanians and Serbians — shrank from the very suggestion of a plebiscite. And they knew very well why. It was because, if the right of self-determination had been enforced and all the inhabitants of pre-War Hungary had been set to vote under neutral supervision, the territory of Hungary could never have been dismembered and abandoned to her greedy neighbours. Only one single tiny bit of pre-War Hungary was allowed to decide its own fate, — the town of Sopron and the immediate environs, situate in the territory allotted to Austria. The plebiscite held here ended in a brilliant victory for the idea of union with the Hungarian State. We must however note that the Sopron plebiscite was not held under the Treaty of Trianon, but in terms of a private agreement made later on between the Hungarian and Austrian Governments. The treaty-makers of Trianon in every single case consistently refused to accept the proposal of the Hungarian Delegation for the holding of a plebiscite.*

Search as we may, we cannot find any acceptable explanation of the ruthless and senseless dismemberment of Hungary.

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And the consequence?

The consequence is that in that part of Europe which from the nationality point of view is the most critical a situation has been created which is far worse than that prevailing formerly. *Austria was cut into pieces because a single State tyrannising a number of nations could not be tolerated in Europe. And what has the wisdom of the treaty-makers put in the place of Austria? A Czecho-Slovakia comprising Czechs, Moravians, Slovaks, Poles, Magyars, Germans and Ruthenians; a Rumania comprising Rumanians,*

Magyars, Germans, Serbs, Bulgarians, Turks, Tartars and gipsies; a Yugoslavia comprising Serbs, Magyars, Bosnians, Croats, Slovenes, Turks, Montenegrins, Vends, Rumanians, Albanians, Italians and Macedonian Greeks. In other words, three Austrias in place of one!!

The Slovaks and Ruthenians were „liberated“ and subjected to the yoke of the Czechs. The Saxons of Transylvania were „liberated“ and subjected to the yoke of the Rumanians. And the Croats were „liberated“ and subjected to the yoke of the Serbians. *In other words, three tyrants in place of one alleged tyrant! Three genuine tyrants too!!*

The treaty-makers settled the Alsatian question. But they *forced to become nationals of the Czecho-Slovak Republic more than a million Magyars, compelling nearly two million Magyars to become Rumanian, more than half a million Magyars to become Yugoslav, and sixty-five thousand Magyars to become Austrian nationals!*

In other words, four Alsace-Lorraines in place of one!!

And the wicked folly of this procedure has been aggravated by a *million and a half Magyars* out of the three million and a half referred to above *being cut off from the mother country despite their living in a compact block in territory immediately adjoining Dismembered Hungary.*

Yet that is not all either. The treaty-makers cut off a very big piece of Hungary accustomed in pre-War days to a cultural communion with Western Europe and made it part of the Balkans. Peoples with a highly developed culture have been subjected to the despotic rule of illiterate masses far beneath them in respect of civilisation.

The ideal economic unit formed by Hungary has been torn in pieces, artificial frontiers being wedged between the highlands and lowland plain which are so naturally interdependent and exercise a constant reciprocal attraction. The new States, which have been so unnaturally augmented, themselves feel the difficulties attending the retention of their territorial acquisitions, and are driven by their feeling of uncertainty to endeavour by a policy of isolation to counteract the effect of the natural forces of attraction. The new frontiers have therefore been converted into customs barriers hampering the exchange of goods between the territories which, apart from being naturally interdependent, during the thousand years of union had come to be complementary to one another. The change has resulted in an upheaval of the economic order ensuing simultaneously alike in the territories of new Hungary and in those cut off from

the mother country: fortunes have disappeared and earnings have dwindled into nothing; and the place of the older order which worked so smoothly and precisely has been taken by a feverish chaos. Today this disquieting chaos is one of the greatest and most difficult problems of the economic life of Europe, — a problem which must be solved if there is to be any more well-being and prosperity.

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There is one point in particular to which we would call the attention of the reader: — the economic chaos and political uncertainty brought into being in the valley of the middle Danube makes it quite impossible that when the danger that must one day inevitably come upon us Europe should be able to defend herself successfully against the advance of Bolshevism and its scheme of a world revolution. The only line of defence that could be maintained successfully against an eventual attack from Russia is the chain of the Carpathians. *The ridge of the Carpathians could not however be successfully defended unless the defending forces could rely upon the support of the Great Hungarian Lowlands — the basin of the Middle Danube — enclosed within the semi-circle of the Carpathians.* During the Great War the forces defending the Carpathians had this support in their rear. And every onslaught of the inexhaustible masses of the Russian armies was actually broken by the northern slopes of those mountains. Any attack on the part of Red Russia would however find quite different conditions in this part of Europe. The Treaties of Peace following the Great War shattered the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. Indeed — and that was a far greater crime — they destroyed the unit formed by the thousand-years-old Kingdom of Hungary. The valley of the Middle Danube is today intersected by a zig-zag network composed of the frontiers of small countries inimically disposed to one another. *It is inconceivable that it should be possible to unite these countries — embittered as they are by their economic troubles and full of mistrust and jealousy of one another — for the purpose of a joint and effectual defence against a common enemy.*

Without Hungary being reconciled and her legitimate claims being satisfied, Central Europe will never be able to offer any effectual resistance to an armed advance on the part of Russia.

The mad Treaty of Trianon could not be expected to have any but mad consequences. We know that, when the conditions of peace were drafted in Paris and when we were made to sign these conditions without being consulted or allowed to treat about

them, the air of Europe was still infected with the miasmata of the war hatred. Our voices did not reach those who were deciding the fate of the world. Our enemies, however, could pass at will in and out of all those doors behind which diplomatic intrigue was settling the lot and the future of Hungary. The mighty persons then deciding the future order of Europe devoted their whole attention to the problems connected with Germany. For them the peace to be concluded with Hungary was a matter of only second-rate importance. And they did not know much about facts and data therewith connected. *The facts and the data were supplied by the parties most nearly interested, — by those who desired to go shares in the inheritance of the ancient Kingdom of Hungary which had been condemned to death.* It is easy to imagine the amount of cunning humbug and artfulness contained in those „facts“ and those „data“. Huge blocks of Magyars were simply struck out of their statistics. The Slovaks and the Czechs — who are actually unable to understand one another — were represented as being some nation with one soul and one language. The Croats, whose Western culture had always made them shrink from contact with the Serbians, became a „sister nation“ longing to have its fate governed from Belgrade. Pitiful little rills were advanced to the dignity of navigable rivers. An agreement made by American societies was converted into an international convention with the title „Pittsburg Convention“; mock popular assemblies became formal expressions of a national will, etc., etc. The Paris Supreme Council did once feel scruples and send a special neutral commission to ascertain the real line of the Magyar-Slovak language frontier. And Benesh and his friends managed to have this „neutral“ commission composed of two American citizens — two American citizens, however, who were Czechs by birth and showed their Czech leanings by not even taking the trouble to go to the place where they were to institute an enquiry, and then proving the truth of Benesh's data by a false procès verbal manufactured in a hotel room in Kassa.

Yes: it was on the strength of „facts“ and „data“ of this kind that the Treaty of Peace which Hungary was compelled to sign in the Trianon was drafted. Hungary had no other alternative: *she had to sign the treaty.* For the condition of the country was a desperate one. During the four years and a half of the Great War the country had become enfeebled and reduced to indigence. After Hungary had been compelled to tolerate the breach of the armistice agreements made with her, and to acquiesce in the greater part of the country being handed over prior to the conclusion of peace, and in defiance of those agreements, to the possession of her

spiteful neighbours; after being driven by an accumulation of injustices into an extremity of despair which plunged her into Bolshevism; after passing through the sufferings of the Rumanian occupation, — she finally signed the Treaty of Trianon too.

In order to entice us to sign the Treaty, the Paris Supreme Council resorted simultaneously to threats and promises. *The Council sent us an ultimatum demanding the signature of the cruel conditions; if Hungary refused to accept the terms offered her, there would be a fresh blockade accompanied by starvation and a new occupation of the country.* However, the threats were sugared with specious promises of a better future. The covering letter signed by M. Millerand which accompanied the definitive conditions of peace contained a promise, made on behalf of the Supreme Council, that where the new frontiers drafted with such precipitate haste should be found to be contrary to ethnographical and economic requirements, the League of Nations would, on the proposal of the Boundary Commissions, repair the injustice done by the Treaty. It was in the knowledge of this undertaking that Hungary signed the Treaty of Trianon; consequently, she regarded the faithful fulfilment of the promise made by M. Millerand as a *sine qua non* of the signature of the Treaty. Yet — *scarcely had the signatures dried on the treaty when secret official instructions were despatched to the Boundary Commissions to make no changes at all and to insist on a strict observance of the frontier lines demarcated in the treaty.*

Can a treaty made after such preliminaries have any moral value at all? Is it not comprehensible after all this that Hungary should be the first of the vanquished countries to refuse to acquiesce in the fate ordained for her, and that she should clamour louder, more bitterly and more energetically than any other country for a peaceful revision of the Treaty forced on her?

The treatment meted out to the other vanquished countries in the Treaties of Peace was by no means lenient either. But no single country has suffered such distractingly painful losses as we have. *Hungary lost 72% of her former territory. Whereas only 10% of Germany's territory and only 8% of Bulgaria's was taken by those countries' victorious neighbours. Hungary was deprived of 64% of her former inhabitants: whereas Germany's losses under this head did not amount to more than 10%.*

This unparalleled loss inflicted on Hungary is made particularly painful by the fact that the inhabitants torn from that country include three and a half million Magyars — the Treaty having actually cut off 1,500,000 Magyars living in a compact area immedi-

ately adjoining Dismembered Hungary. *From a national point of view too the Treaty of Trianon was the most ruthless of all. For, whereas the Treaty of Versailles took away one out of every twenty German nationals who were Germans by language, and the Treaty of Neuilly one out of every twenty inhabitants of Bulgaria who were Bulgarians by language, the Treaty of Trianon cut off from the mother country seven out of every twenty Magyar inhabitants of Hungary. In other words,*

the Treaty of Trianon compelled one third of the Magyar nationals to live in the future under the rule of foreign and hostile peoples.

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Those who cling to the present order of things would like to make the world believe that the revision movement is a danger to international peace and can only lead to a fresh war. We would ask the reader not to allow himself to be misled by such representations.

It is not the revision movement that is a danger to peace, but the Treaty of Peace based upon deceit and forgery which by the aid of artificial obstacles has diverted into an unnatural channel the movement of the forces filling the district between the Danube and the Tisza.

It is not the revision movement that is calculated to provoke a fresh World War, but the short-sighted obstinacy bent upon conferring everlasting validity on mistaken decisions founded on errors and misinformation which were taken in an hour of aberration and in an atmosphere of morbid delirium. All this talk about a danger of war is disingenuous; for the treaty-makers themselves provided for the possibility of a subsequent peaceful alteration and amendment of the Treaty. This was why they drafted Article 19 of the Covenant of the League of Nations, which provides for the reconsideration of treaties that have become inapplicable or of international conditions endangering the peace of the world. By choosing this means Hungary is anxious to secure international peace despite the Treaty of Peace. In full consciousness of the justice of her cause, she announces her wishes before the whole world quite openly and sincerely.

These wishes of the Hungarians were formulated most precisely and most pregnantly by the Hungarian Premier, Count Stephen Bethlen, in the statement published by the „New York Times“ in November, 1930. According to this statement, what Hun-

gary desires is that in order to repair the injustice done by Trianon a return should be made to the point at which the Treaty of Trianon was bungled and botched together; that the peace and quiet of Central Europe should be restored by allowing the right of self-determination free play in these territories; that Hungary should be given back the Magyar nationals who have been wrested from her; and that in respect of the territories inhabited by non-Magyars the decision should be allowed to rest with a plebiscite.

Should these wishes formulated by Hungary be complied with, the dispute which the Treaty of Trianon has failed to decide satisfactorily would be settled finally and definitively. If the principle of self-determination is applied and the peoples themselves choose the State under the rule of which they desire to live in the future, there will never be — and indeed, there can never be — any cause of complaint. The balance of forces in the district between the Danube and the Tisza will be restored; and there will be no more reason to fear any haphazard dissection of Central Europe again setting the world afire.

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Let there be no mistake: if the remedy is not found in time,

for Trianon's sake Europe and your own country and the peace of the whole world will be visited by the nightmare of a fresh war surpassing in horror all wars hitherto waged.

We repeat, — not because in her just and gloomy embitterment Hungary is preparing for or desires war. No! — simply because the development and natural order of things is leading us in that direction with a fatal consistency.

The memories of the Great War still weigh like a horrible incubus on the present generation. Everyone alike shudders at the mere thought of a fresh slaughter, particularly as everyone knows that a new war would be far more ghastly — and accompanied by far more horrors — than the one still present to our minds. The international policy of the post-War period has done practically nothing else but try to discover the means of sparing humanity the repetition of that cataclysm. It was guarantees against war that the exhausted peoples endeavoured to devise at Locarno, in the Kellogg Pact and in the arbitration treaties. Yet all the time the peoples have been — and are still — troubled and agitated by the feeling that *they have not yet succeeded in*

discovering the panacea of lasting peace, and that the incubus of war is still lurking on their frontiers. Why? — Why are all the honest endeavours of the present generation inspired by a well-intentioned and serious desire for peace futile and vain?

Because without a revision of the injudicious treaties of peace, peace is — and will continue to be — impossible in Europe.

Mr. Arthur Henderson, Foreign Secretary in the MacDonald Cabinet, was right in his statement made to a correspondent of the „*Neue Freie Presse*“ in July, 1925, when a great deal had already been said about the „safety pact“ discussed at the General Assembly of the League of Nations. He said: „We are told that the guarantee agreements must not contain any revision. *But it is no use forbidding an explosion where gunpowder is lying about in all directions. The best method in such cases is to remove the gunpowder.* The Safety Pact, however, means that the explosion is forbidden, but that it is also forbidden to remove the gunpowder which is likely to cause an explosion. *This may be diplomacy, but it is not statesmanship.*“

True safety — the avoidance of any future wars — cannot be based upon anything but a just and humanitarian peace honestly balancing all interests alike. *Whereas a bad and ruthless peace cannot possibly result in anything but a fresh war.*

Let us see what history has to teach us on this point. History shows that *there is only one means of maintaining unjust and bad treaties of peace, — viz. armed force.* Wherever they have been able to do so, the victors have disarmed the vanquished. But the victors themselves — whether the disarmament was successfully effected or not — have in any case continued their own preparations for war. For they knew that they could not hope to compel the vanquished to observe the inhumanly severe conditions imposed upon them except by maintaining their superior odds. *A peace of this kind, however, is not a peace at all. It is only war carried on by other means.*

History proves also that such a state of things can only be successfully maintained for a short time. Bismarck, the German Chancellor, was right when he said that „it is very uncomfortable to sit on bayonets“.

Eleven years have passed since the conclusion of the peace treaties. Time has already removed the prejudice and the illusion overshadowing the birth of the peace edicts. To-day, all the world over, it is felt that the bad treaties have only sown the seeds of fresh wars and that spoils cannot be retained permanently if there is no moral ground for their retention. The horrible provisions of

the peace edicts were foisted upon one half of Europe by the other half at a time when the States defeated in the Great War lay crumbled to pieces in the dust, while the victors were united in a firm phalanx of solidarity. To keep these peace edicts in force today needs an equally strong pressure. How long that pressure can be maintained, is the great question. The relative strength of the factors has changed. *One half of Europe cannot possibly act permanently as the slave-master of the other half. It is impossible to continue ad infinitum to discriminate between victors and vanquished.* In a short time either the victors must disarm, or the vanquished too will prepare for war. *And the solidarity of the victors — the grouping of Powers in force* in the Great War — is already a thing of the past.* Variance of interests is scattering them in various directions. Those who yesterday were good friends, have fallen apart. Those who yesterday fought shoulder to shoulder on the field of battle, are content today to merely shake hands. And time has other surprises in store. *The day must come when the allies of yesterday will become enemies; and when the enemies of yesterday will become allies.* In the question of a revision of the peace treaties too there is a difference of opinion between the former Allies. For instance, Italy today stands officially for a revision. *Thus, those forces which compelled the signing of the peace treaties and have so far provided for the maintenance of those treaties, cannot be kept permanently united. On the other hand, if the relative strength of the factors changes, the collapse of the treaties of peace is just as certain as is the fall of a cone placed on its apex in the event of the removal of the hand which has put it in that unnatural position.*

And this process — which is as unalterable as the logic of the play of natural forces — may even be accelerated by something. It may happen that some State comes into possession of some industrial invention denoting an enormous shifting in military technics. And this discovery or invention might arouse in the mind of the State previously figuring as a weaker factor the hope that in the event of hostilities it might prove the stronger. It need not be actually stronger: it need only hope to prove so. At the outbreak of the Great War Germany believed that the possession of the „forty-two“ big guns would enable her to break down any obstacle erected in her path. She was mistaken. The Great War was not won by the „forty-two“-s; but by the tanks. And the tanks were new achievements of military technics introduced by way of surprise.

Do what we will, one thing is certain: armed superiority costs a tremendous lot of money and is no guarantee of a lasting peace. The only guarantee of a lasting peace is, as

Henderson said, the removal of the gunpowder lying ready to explode. In other words, — quietude and the creation of an international situation not compelling the several States to feel the need for a change even if they have the power to bring about that change.

* *
*

All that has been said above relates in general to the treaties of peace concluded in the neighbourhood of Paris. There is something more to which we would call the reader's attention; we would remind him that *the situation of Hungary requires to be judged independently of the enforcement of general justice. For the greater the injustice and cruelty and badness of a treaty of peace, the greater the danger inherent in it.* Of all the treaties of peace that of Trianon is the worst, the cruellest and the most unjust. That is why it is likely to prove the source of the greatest and most immediate danger. That is why we cannot accept the suggestion that, when the inevitable general revision of the treaties comes, as come it must, Hungary's grievances will be investigated too. In view of our exceptional and tragically unique situation, we should like to make the world understand that *Hungary has suffered incomparably more grievously from the conditions of peace than any other country, and that for that reason she must receive first aid at once and in anticipation of all other victims.*

Though Hungary has other claims too to be treated specially and in anticipation of all others. *The Treaty of Trianon was the sentence of misinformed and deluded judges.* The small nations concerned — the neighbours of the Kingdom of Hungary covetous to receive parts of its territory — cajoled and misled the Great Powers working in Paris on a re-adjustment of Europe. They counterfeited history, maps and statistics, and denied manifest facts merely in order to persuade the Members of the Supreme Council not fully cognizant of the conditions prevailing in Central Europe to take a decision favourable to their interests. *Every one is entitled to appeal against a sentence based on deceit and cajolery.* And we appeal from a badly informed Europe to a well-informed Europe for a re-trial of our case. This is the basis upon which we urge and demand a revision of the Treaty of Trianon!

* *
*

It is true that Hungary is a small country. Smaller today even than it was prior to the Great War. But the hand of fate placed Hungary in the very heart of Europe. And this central position makes her of peculiar significance in international politics. *That is why*

no one should live in the delusion that any complications arising in the neighbourhood of Hungary are likely to be confined to Hungary and her neighbours, the rest of the world being mere undisturbed spectators of the events. The several countries of the world are today encircled by so intricate a network of interests that such a state of things is inconceivable. Any attempt on the part of her neighbours to use force against Hungary would be bound to affect the most sensitive nerves of other States. And for that reason the armed conflicts of the future cannot be confined to a small area. The war of the future will without fail be another World War bound to sweep into its maelstrom those countries too which today naively and unsuspectingly believe that they are proof against all possible dangers.

Now you will understand why we flash out to you the signal for help of ships in the direst extremity!

S. O. S.! Save Our Souls! Save the people of Dismembered Hungary from utter despair! Save the Hungarians on the farther side of the Trianon frontier from utter destruction! Save the world from the danger of another horrible war!

The great nation to which you belong has a voice of authority in the councils that decide the fate of the world. Do what you can to remove the danger of a new war menacing

Europe, all of you individually, your country, your family; and to that end use every opportunity — by word and in writing, in Parliament, in the press, in society — to demand the revision of the Treaty of Trianon, the most unjust and the most ruthless of the treaties concluded after the Great War!!

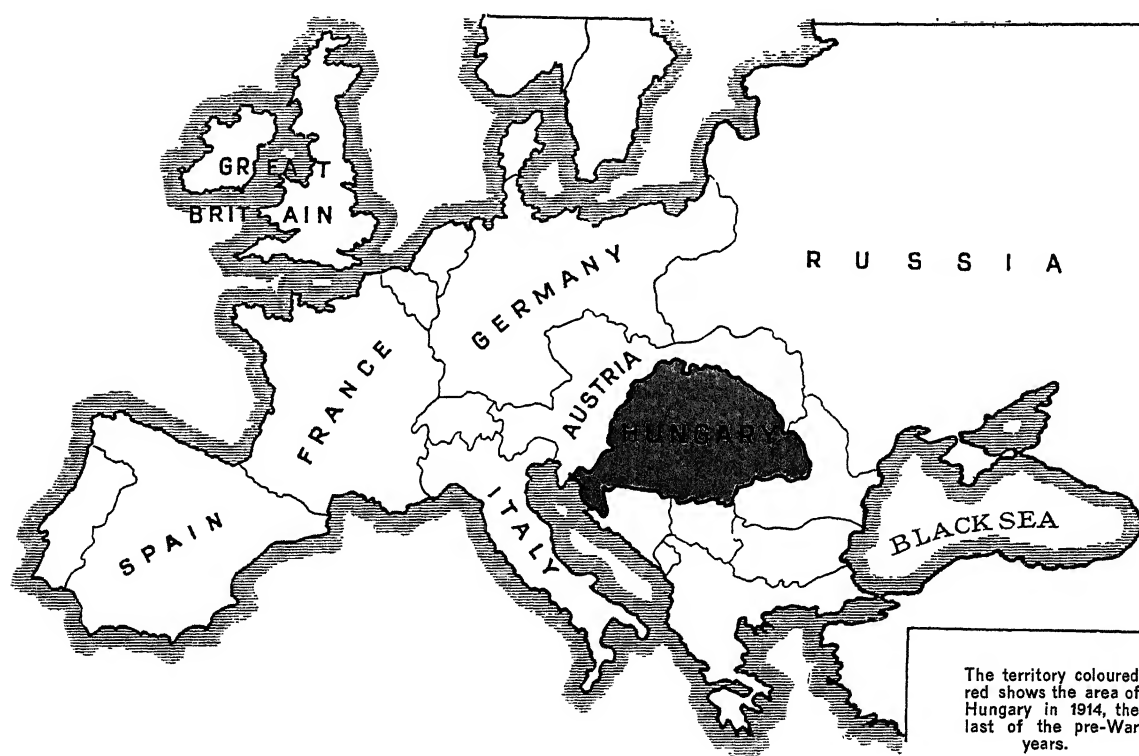
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We admit, of course, that all we have said so far about the Treaty of Trianon and the consequences of that Treaty sounds like the nightmare of a fever-stricken imagination. We cannot expect anyone to take what we have told him as gospel merely because it has been told him. And we beg the reader not to believe us, — not to believe anything but indisputable facts and irrefutable data. We beg him to study carefully the maps and diagrams to be found below, as also the indictment, in the preamble of which we have quoted statistical data, official documents and numerous statements made by statesmen, to prove that the drafters of the Treaty of Trianon did actually bring into being the worst, most ruthless and most dangerous peace known to history. We are convinced that there is no unbiassed man in the world who will not after conscientiously studying these data be impelled to enter the lists on behalf of Hungary and to join us in demanding the revision of the Treaty of Trianon.

TRIANON IN MAPS AND DIAGRAMS.

The following section shows, by the aid of statistical data, maps and diagrams, that the new adjustment — which has torn to pieces the thousand years' dominion of the Magyars — has created in this part of Europe conditions which in geographical, nationality and economic respects are far worse than those prevailing there in pre-War days.

Hungary a thousand years in the heart of Europe.
The Kingdom of Hungary at the Outbreak of the Great War.



Prior to the Great War the Hungarian Kingdom enclosed by natural frontiers was the most perfect geographical unit in Europe, and was situated in the very heart of that Continent. The population of the Hungarian Kingdom of those days numbered only 20,886,000 souls; but the central position which made her a natural link connecting the East of Europe with the West ensured her a far greater importance than that deriving from the number of inhabitants. In this position the strong and united Hungary of pre-War days had rendered signal service to the cause of international peace by acting as a buffer-State separating the Latin, Slav and Germanic races which were rivals for world power.

The static energy of the 8 or 9 million Hungarians remaining in Hungary after the War and living an independent State life of their own is still sufficient to enable Hungary to play an important role in Europe; but Dismembered Hungary is incapable of continuing to fulfil the important historical mission devolving upon her and to counterbalance the various endeavours to obtain a world power.

Hungary was not Discovered by Europe until the Distribution of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy.

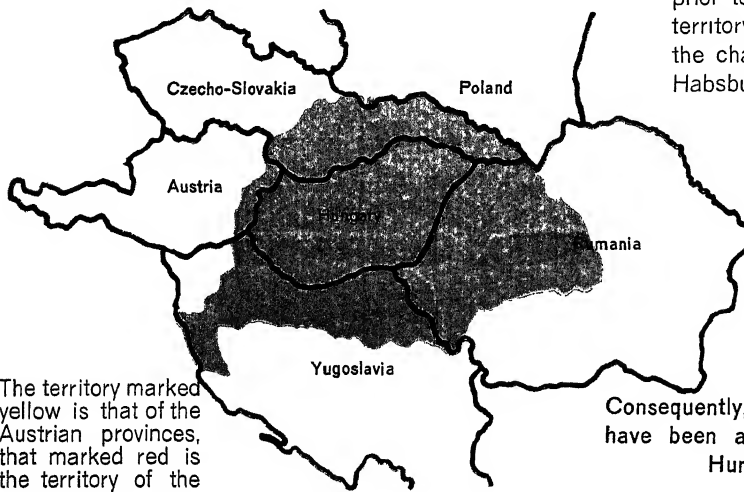
After the partition of the Turkish Empire, our enemies declared that the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy was the new „Sick Man“ of Europe. Prior to the Great War, only an Austro-Hungarian Monarchy was known to the world at large, which knew nothing at all of Hungary. The collective term „Austria“ included all the Habsburg dominions. People abroad did not know that the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy was not a State unit, but a political union of two States of equal rank based on the principle of dualism. People abroad did not know that, if the Habsburg Empire was not a political unit, it was only one of the two members of the union that could be spoken of as a „sick man“, only Austria, the other half of the Monarchy, Hungary, being perfectly sound. Prior to the coronation of a Habsburg as King of Hungary (in 1526) too the Hungarian Kingdom had for centuries been a political unit provided with natural boundaries, whereas

prior to 1526 — and subsequently too — the territory of Austria had varied continually with the change of the fortune of war. In 1526 the Habsburgs' dominions included only the parts of Austria lying west of Hungary, it was not until after 1526 that they conquered Silesia, Galicia, Bukovina, Dalmatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Austria was brought into being by the family interests of the Habsburgs.

Hungary was the creation of political necessity.

Consequently, while the partition of Austria may have been a political necessity, the partition of Hungary was a political crime!

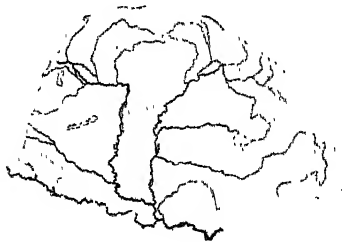


The territory marked yellow is that of the Austrian provinces, that marked red is the territory of the Kingdom of Hungary.

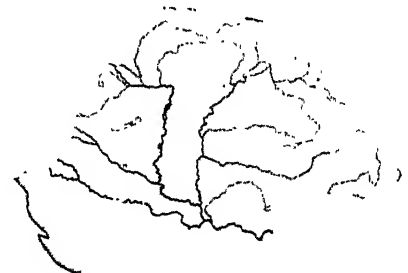
The Territory of the Hungarian Kingdom Unchanged for a Thousand Years.

Natural frontiers such as those of pre-War Hungary possess an enormous power: the mountains and rivers prescribe certain unalterable laws governing political development too. During its thousand years' life the

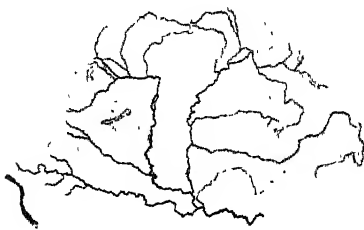
territory of the Kingdom of Hungary changed more than once. It has been known to expand beyond, and to shrink within narrower limits than, the natural boundaries demarcated by the mountains and rivers. Such changes of territory have however always proved to be of a temporary character, for the natural frontiers of the country have at all times decreased or expanded the limits of the boundaries drawn by the hand of man to fit in with their own postulates.



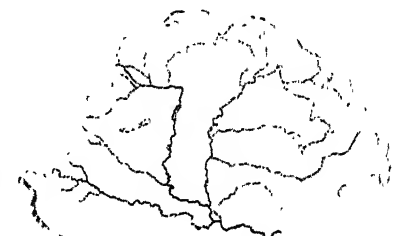
Territory of Kingdom of Hungary in 1015, in the days of St. Stephen



Territory of Kingdom of Hungary after the Battle of Mohács (1526).



Territory of Kingdom of Hungary in the Eighteenth century.



Territory of Hungarian Kingdom in 1914, at the outbreak of the Great War.

These four maps show that there was hardly any change in the territory of Hungary in the course of her 1000 years' pre-War history.

God too Intended Hungary to be a Unit.

A glance at the maps given below will show the reader at once and make him understand that historical Hungary was created and lived its political life for a thousand years on a territory marked out as a geographical unit by the formation of its mountains and the direction taken by its rivers. It was the creative hand of God that appointed for this territory its destiny as a united kingdom. That is why Réclus, the famous French geographer, called the Kingdom of Hungary a country by birth.

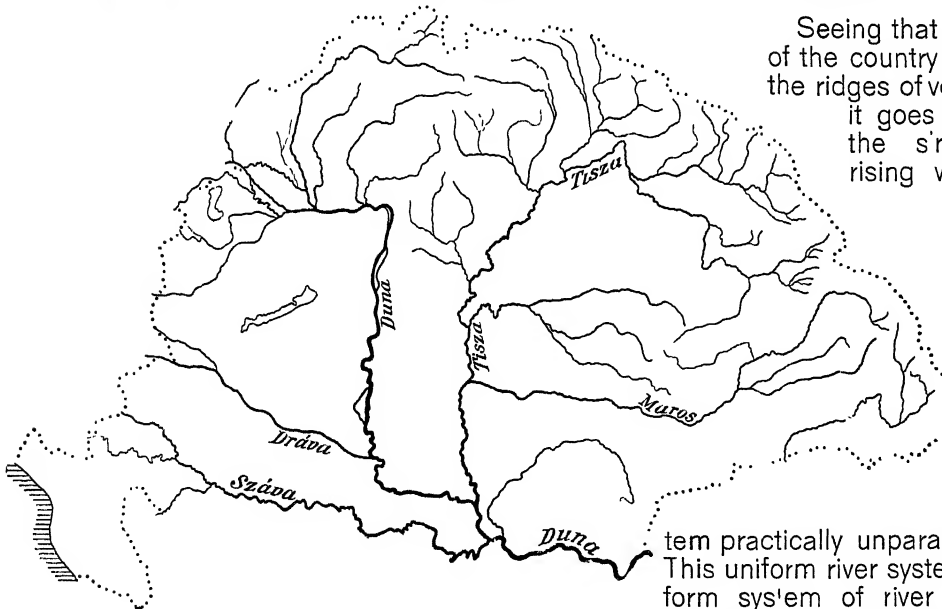
Orographical Map of Kingdom of Hungary.



The frontiers of pre-War Hungary were formed chiefly by watershed mountain ranges.

The relative depth of the colours shows the relative height.

Uniform River System of Kingdom of Hungary.



Seeing that the natural frontier of the country consisted mostly of the ridges of very high mountains, it goes without saying that the streams and rivers rising within the territory of the country almost without exception flowed towards the centre of the country. Consequently, the streams and rivers dashing into one another combined to form a uniform river system practically unparalleled in the world.

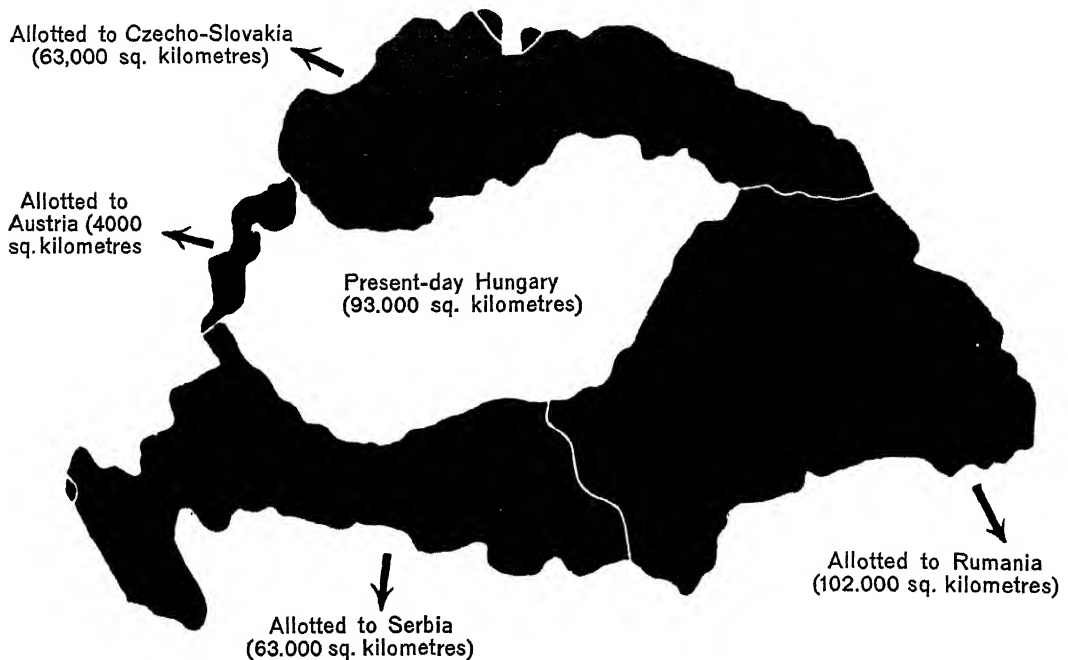
This uniform river system demands a uniform system of river improvement and

regulation: and the administration of the uniform river system cannot be carried on efficiently unless concentrated in one hand. However, as a result of the Treaty of Trianon, the upper reaches of the rivers have come into foreign possession, — a result involving the territory of present-day Hungary, which lies at a lower level, in very considerable danger in times of flood.

Distribution of the Territory of Kingdom of Hungary.

The area of pre-War Hungary was 325,000 square kilometres: — of this area Trianon cut away 232,000 square kilometres.

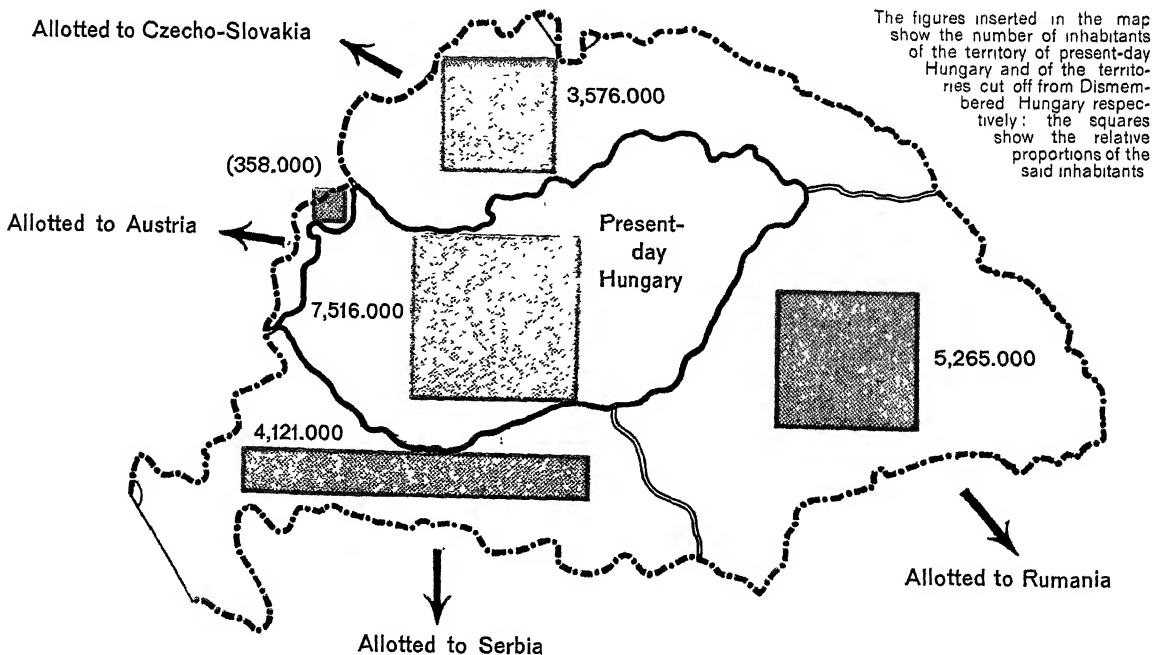
The Treaty of Trianon took away roughly three-fourths (72%) of the original territory of the country!



Distribution of Population of Kingdom of Hungary.

The population of pre-War Hungary was 20,886,000 souls — of this number Trianon cut off 13,370,000 souls.

The Treaty of Trianon subjected to foreign rule roughly two-thirds (64%) of the original population of the country!

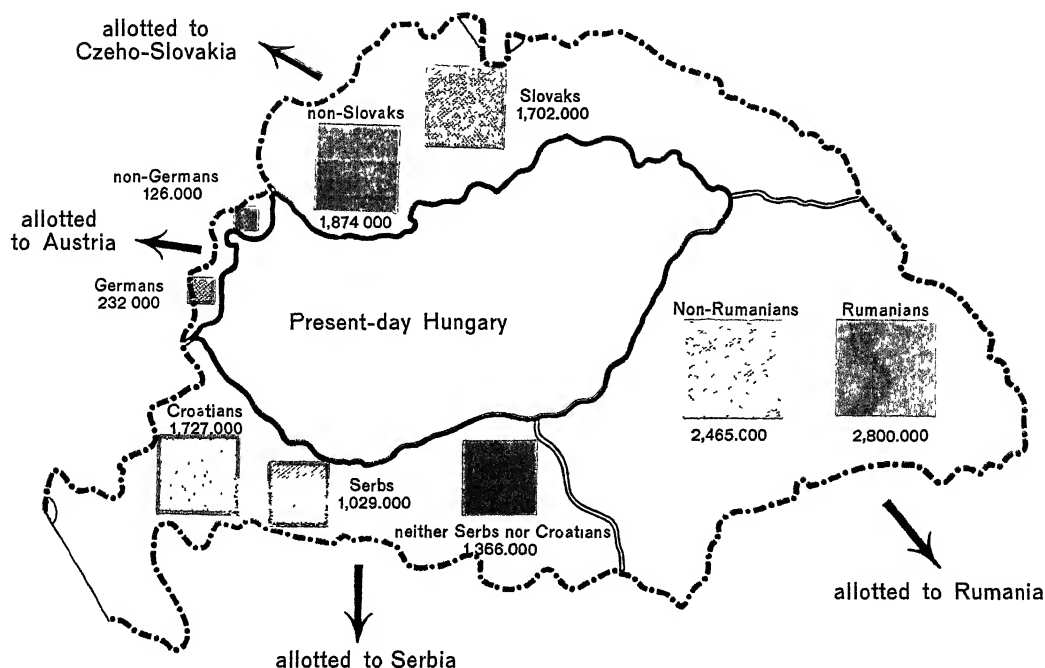


Why had Hungary to suffer this monstrous dismemberment of territory and population?

The new frontiers are worse than the original ones alike in ethnographical, in geographical and in economic respects.

The new frontiers serve exclusively the imperialistic and strategic interests of Czecho-Slovakia, Rumania and Yugoslavia.

The Treaty of Trianon and the „Liberation“ of the Nationalities.



The Kingdom of Hungary, a marvellous geographical and economic unit, was dismembered on the plea of „liberation of the nationalities“ What does this „liberation“ look like in real life?

1,702.000 Slovaks were „liberated“ by being subjected to Czech rule, 1,874.000 persons of other races being at the same time placed under Czech overlordship.

2,800.000 Rumanians were „liberated“ at the cost of subjecting 2,465.000 persons of other races to Rumanian rule.

1,029.000 Serbs were „liberated“ at the cost of subjecting to Serbian rule 1,727.000 Croats and 1,366.000 persons of other races.

232.000 Germans were „liberated“ at the cost of subjecting to Austrian rule 126.000 persons of other races.

N. B.!! This was all done without plebiscites being held!

Yet the Hungarian Peace Delegation sent to Paris under the leadership of Count Albert Apponyi from the very outset demanded that the fate of the territories doomed to separation should be decided by plebiscite. **However, the Supreme Council did not ordain a plebiscite in any single part of the Hungary doomed to partition.** In the event of a plebiscite an enormous majority of the inhabitants of the severed territories would have decided in favour of adhesion to the thousand-years-old Hungary.

In this respect too the Treaty of Trianon was far worse and more unjust than the Treaty of Versailles, which did ordain a plebiscite in at least a part of the territories the possession of which was disputed by Germany and Poland And that Treaty proposes to hold a plebiscite in 1935 to decide the question of the adhesion of the Saar District too.

The treaty of Trianon is therefore a manifest refutation of the principle of self-determination.

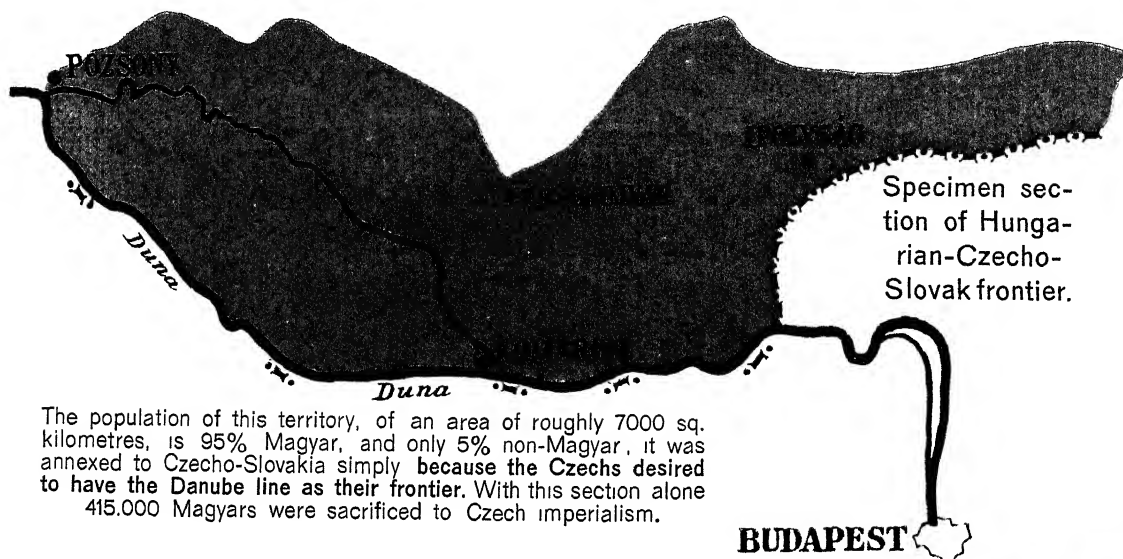
And for that reason the Treaty of Trianon is entirely devoid of moral substance.

The Trianon Frontiers Made Deep Incisions in the Body of the Magyar Race.

According to Hungary's enemies, the Treaty of Trianon left all compact masses of Magyars within the frontiers of Dismembered Hungary, whereas the rest of the Magyars had to be subjected to Czech, Rumanian, Serbian and Austrian rule in order to be able to „liberate” the non-Magyar nationalities of pre-War Hungary. However, the truth is that the Trianon frontiers at all points make deep incisions in the united block of Magyars settled in the valley of the Danube.

The Treaty of Trianon cut off more than a million and a half Magyars whose homes adjoin and are in immediate connection with the territory of present-day Hungary.

It is to illustrate this crying injustice that we publish the three frontier sections given below, the first of which shows a part of the Czecho-Slovak, the second a part of the Rumanian, and the third a part of the Yugoslav boundary adjoining Hungary. The broken line denotes the Trianon frontier, the territory coloured red showing the pure Magyar language area adjoining and immediately connected with the territory of Dismembered Hungary,



Specimen section of Hungarian-Yugoslav frontier:

The dotted line shows the Trianon frontier. The territory coloured red is the Magyar language area annexed to Yugoslavia.

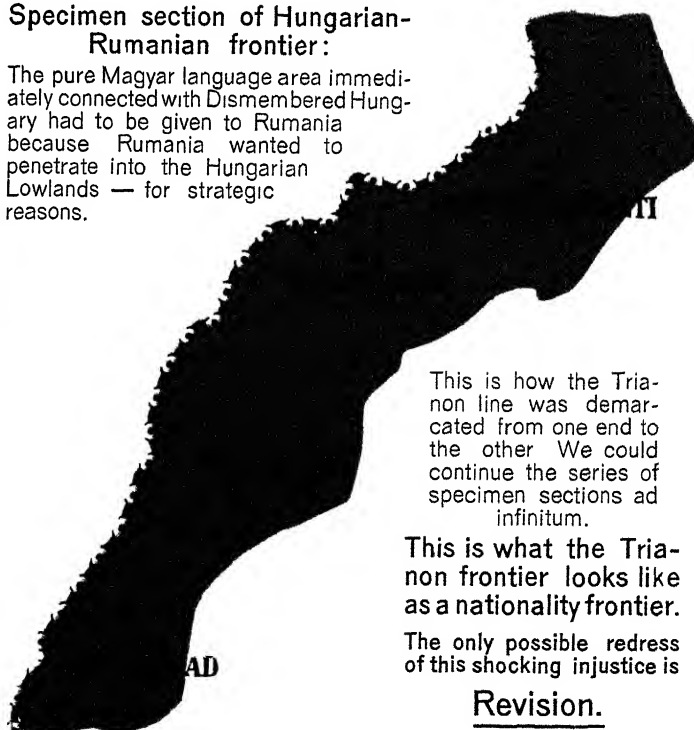


On the territory shown 125.000 Magyars are living, the Serbians — who are living in scattered groups — numbering only 22.000. Yet the Magyars living on either shore of the Tisza were separated by the Treaty of Trianon from their racial brethren territorially connected with them.

0 10 20 30 40 50 km

Specimen section of Hungarian-Rumanian frontier:

The pure Magyar language area immediately connected with Dismembered Hungary had to be given to Rumania because Rumania wanted to penetrate into the Hungarian Lowlands — for strategic reasons.



This is how the Trianon line was demarcated from one end to the other. We could continue the series of specimen sections ad infinitum.

This is what the Trianon frontier looks like as a nationality frontier.

The only possible redress of this shocking injustice is

Revision.

Greater Rumania.

Orographical and Hydrographical Map of Greater Rumania.

The relative depth of the colouring shows the relative height of the hills. The mountains marked deep black are the ridges of the Carpathians,—the thousand-years' frontiers of older Hungary.



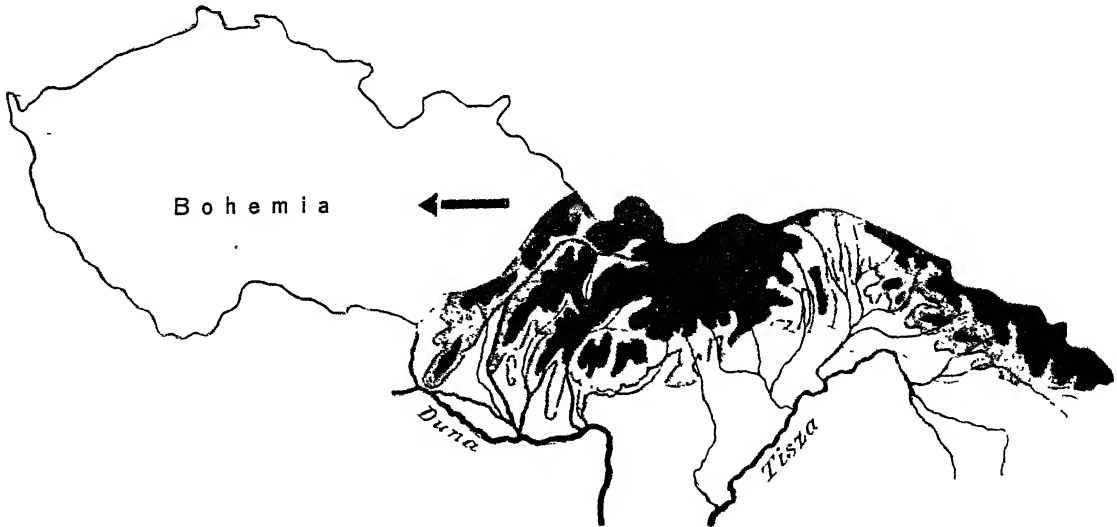
On a map not showing the hills and rivers New-Rumania appears to be a fine, shapely territory. However, it is only from orographical and hydrographical maps that we can judge correctly of the character of post-War Rumania — a country swollen to an enormous size — as a geographical formation. **The new State is cut exactly in two by the eastern and southern chains of the Carpathians.** The western part enclosed by the ring of the Carpathians is the territory taken from Hungary: with its 102,000 square kilometres it represents a considerable proportion of the total area — 295,000 square kilometres — of Greater Rumania. All the waters of this territory — with the single exception of the Olt — run westwards, towards the Tisza; and its valleys open westwards, towards the great Lowland plain of Hungary. **As the map shows us, the territory taken from Hungary still gravitates westwards, towards the Hungarian basin; while the chain of the Carpathians converts Rumania into an eastern and Balkan State.** Not in position only, but also in respect of culture and manners. **In the territory cut out of the body of Hungary and allotted to the Rumanians there are 2,465,000 non-Rumanian and 2,800,000 Rumanian inhabitants.** Consequently, in the severed territory the majority of the Rumanians is a very trifling one: but we must not forget that the Magyars and Germans here separated from their brethren in Hungary were peoples possessing an extremely high culture **far ahead of the Rumanians in cultural matters.** For strategic reasons the Rumanian frontier was pushed forward right into the Hungarian Lowlands; and for the sake of creating a strategic frontier large masses of Magyars living in a compact area were cut off from Dismembered Hungary, though their homes immediately adjoined that country.

Rumania is also one of the unsoundest State formations of the post-War period. Its continued existence in its present form would be in defiance of geography, of ethnography, of economics and of all the interests of culture.

At this point we must return to the question of defence against the attack of Bolshevik Russia to which we have devoted two special maps to be found on pages 14 and 15. The map given above shows clearly that **the only serious obstacle to check an advance westwards of the Soviet troops crossing the Dniester is the semi-circle of the Carpathians.** However, Rumania would be incapable of defending this mountain chain, particularly as it belongs to the western third of her territory. **It is impossible to conceive of Rumania being a serious obstacle to a Russian advance except in the event of a complete understanding and of a real peace between her and the Hungary situate in her rear.**

Czecho-Slovakia.

The section coloured yellow shows the territory of the Bohemia of history and of Moravia, the black orographical and hydrographical map — the relative depth of the colour denoting the relative height of the mountains — shows the districts of Slovakia and Ruthenia (Little Russia) taken from Hungary under the Treaty of Trianon.



If we glance at the map of Czecho-Slovakia given above, we see at once that the State allotted such a shape by the Treaty of Trianon cannot possibly be long-lived. The length of Czecho-Slovakia is as great as that of France — roughly 1000 kilometres. At its widest point it is not broader than Switzerland — some 250 kilometres. The total area of Czecho-Slovakia is 141 000 square kilometres; of this area 63,000 square kilometres are supplied by the territory taken from the Kingdom of Hungary. It is easy to distinguish on the map the part taken from Hungary, seeing that — as may be seen from our map — the territory cut off from Hungary forms a closed geographical unit above historical Bohemia. Every valley in this territory opens towards the territory belonging to present-day Hungary. That is the direction taken by all the rivers too. Consequently, both the water and the land routes of this territory still show a decided gravitation towards the great Lowland plain of Hungary. It is no use the Treaty of Trianon attempting to force these districts to look for their natural outlet in the direction of Prague. **The roads issuing from the valleys opening on the Lowlands will and must continue to seek an outlet in the direction of Budapest; and the road leading to Prague is obstructed by a multiple barrier consisting of successive chains of hills.** The Highlands severed from the mother country under the Treaty are still connected with Hungary by 11 railway lines, only 5 railway lines leading in the direction of Bohemia. The fact that the Trianon frontier has erected customs barriers to cut off the roads and other routes gravitating towards Hungary — roads and routes over which in former times there was a bustling trade conveying the products of the Highlands to the great Lowland plain of Hungary — has resulted in **economically paralysing both the severed territories and those districts still belonging to Hungary, and in condemning to misery and privations the inhabitants of the districts cut off from one another by the provisions of the Treaty.**

The territory taken from old Hungary divides into two provinces. One of these is Slovakia, the other Ruthenia or „Little Russia“. The combined population of these two provinces comprises altogether 3,576 000 souls. The Czechs like to assert that the Czechs and the Slovaks are one nation, that the Czech and Slovak languages are two very similar dialects of the same Czecho-Slovak tongue. The truth is that the Czech and the Slovak are two entirely different languages. This fact is proved most clearly by the promise made to the Slovaks in 1926 by the Svehla Government when it undertook to require the Czech officials functioning in Slovak territory to learn Slovak. It is true, indeed, that the Czechs have so far failed to keep this promise, as they have failed to keep all their other promises. Nevertheless, the „Czech“ statistics do not distinguish between Czech and Slovak, showing „Czecho-Slovaks“ for the purpose of misleading foreigners. The Czechs are in a minority in their own country; they represent altogether only 44% of the population of Czecho-Slovakia. In the territory taken from Hungary, on the other hand, the Slovaks are a minority, for the population of that territory includes 1,874 000 non-Slovaks (Magyars, Germans, Ruthenians, Rumanians, etc.) as against 1,702 000 persons who are Slovak by language. **Czecho-Slovakia is one of the unsoundest States in Europe. From a nationality point of view it is worse than the Austria of former times. And as concerns its character from a geographical, strategical or administrative point of view, all we have to do is to glance at the map given above.**

Ruthenia—Little Russia.

The red surface shows Ruthenia, the red line the boundary between Bohemia and Slovakia.



„Little Russia“ or Ruthenia, the easternmost appendix of Czecho-Slovakia, has an area of 12.700 square kilometres and a population of 605.000 souls. At the time of its severance from Hungary, this province included among its inhabitants 334.000 Ruthenians, 174.000 Magyars, 63.000 Germans, and only 8.000 Slovaks. Even the Czechs have never asserted that the Ruthenian people is closely akin to them, or that the Czech and the Ruthenian languages are identical. **Neither the Czechs nor the Slovaks had any claim to have Ruthenia annexed to Czecho-Slovakia.** And it was nevertheless annexed to that country: though the inhabitants of the territory concerned were not asked beforehand to declare their wishes in the matter. Had they been asked, these inhabitants of a territory which, like all the other parts of this section of Czecho-Slovakia, has no roads that do not gravitate towards the Hungarian Lowlands, would without the slightest hesitation have voted for that union with Hungary in which they had lived for centuries so happily and contentedly. **In the Minorities Treaty concluded with the Great Powers in 1919, the Czechs undertook an obligation to grant this territory self-government. Ten years have passed since then; and that obligation has not been met.** And the League of Nations, whose duty it is to force the Czechs to fulfil their promise, is doing nothing to provide for the observance of the terms of the Treaty.

Then why had Ruthenia to be cut off from Hungary and given to the Czechs?

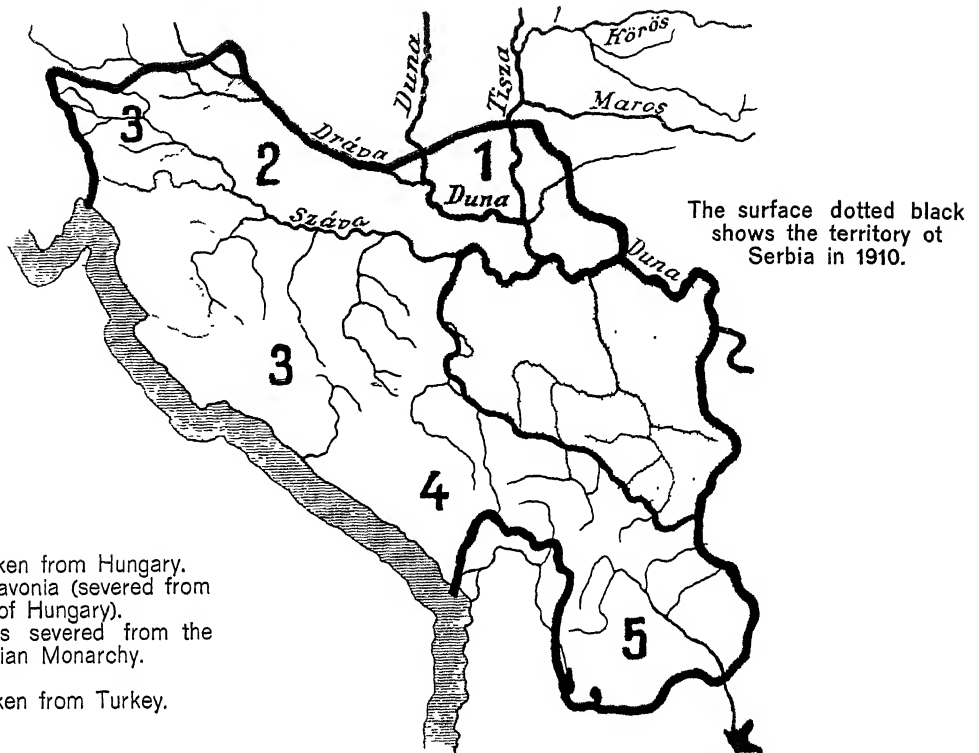
Merely for the purpose of furthering the aims of Czech imperialism.

Merely to find another means of weakening Hungary.

Merely to give the Czechs and Rumanians a common frontier — that being the important strategic reason put before the Supreme Council in Paris.

Yugoslavia.

The red surfaces show the territories taken from the Kingdom of Hungary.



1. The territory taken from Hungary.
2. Croatia and Slavonia (severed from the Kingdom of Hungary).
3. Other territories severed from the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy.
4. Montenegro.
5. The territory taken from Turkey.

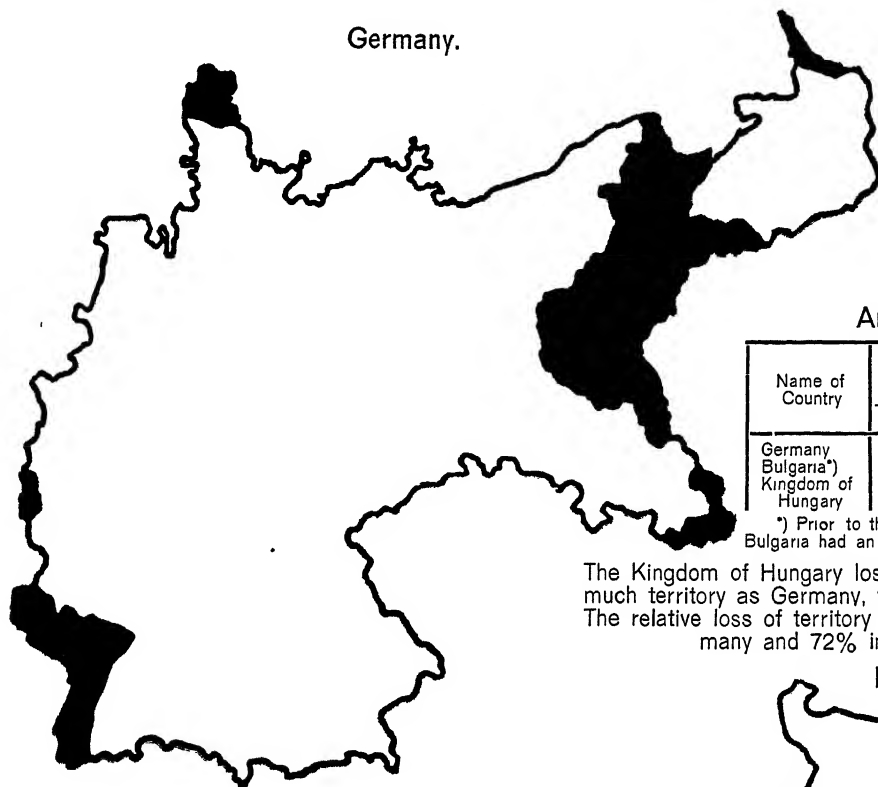
The Yugoslavia of today is a country 248.000 square kilometres in area, with a population of 13 million souls. Prior to the Balkan War it was 48.000 square kilometres in area and had 4.000.000 inhabitants. The Serbia of former days was therefore only one-sixth of the Yugoslavia of today; nevertheless, **this insignificant and backward country is playing the dictator and forcibly oppressing the far more highly cultured inhabitants — nearly three times as numerous as the inhabitants of Serbia proper — of territories altogether five times its size.** The Serbians previously endeavoured to make Europe believe that the Croats wrenched from Hungary and the Slovenes separated from Austria belonged to the same „Yugoslav“ nation as themselves. The truth is, however, that the Greek Oriental Serbians employing the Cyrillic alphabet are in character fundamentally different from the Roman Catholic Croats and Slovenes employing the Latin alphabet, who are today defenceless and at the mercy of the Serbian imperialists. The part of Yugoslavia inhabited by Croats and Slovenes is a truly cultured part of Europe — even measured by the strictest European standard: and there is a similar culture also in that other part of the new country which has been cut out of the body of Hungary and the population of which is predominantly Magyar and German. Old Serbia, on the other hand, is very backward in culture, and has introduced the weapons of oppression and autocracy in those territories of the new State which are longing for a return of the rule of culture. In addition to historical traditions, all their economic and cultural interests even today make these territories gravitate northwards — towards Hungary. This is proved by the fact that the districts severed from the Kingdom of Hungary and given to Serbia are connected with Hungary by 16 railway lines, the number of lines connecting them with Serbia being only 5. **From a nationality point of view the conditions brought into being in this part of Europe by the new State are far worse than those prevailing in the same territory prior to the Great War.** For of the 4,122.000 persons living in the territory 63.000 square kilometres in area taken from Hungary and given to Serbia, only 1,029,000 are Serbs. That means that the Serbians living here form only an insignificant minority of the population. However, the Serbians are in a minority in the whole territory of their new country; for that country contains ten diverse peoples of various tongues and races, who are longing for the day of their liberation from the oppression of Serbian nationalism.

Comparison between the Treaty of Trianon and the other Treaties of Peace.

Which country lost most territory and inhabitants in the Great War?

We give below the pre-War maps of Germany, Bulgaria and Hungary. In each of the maps we have inserted black spots showing the territory lost by the respective country under the Treaties of Peace. We would note that the scale of all three maps is the same, so that the reader can compare the territorial losses of the several countries easily at a glance. Since the first Balkan War there have been several changes in the territory of Bulgaria: ultimately, she lost the territory coloured all black, while gaining the territory dotted black.

Germany.



Area of Territory.

Name of Country	Prior to Great War	After Great War	Loss	
	area in square kilometres			%
Germany	541.000	470.000	71.000	13
Bulgaria*)	112.000	103 000	9 000	8
Kingdom of Hungary	325.000	93.000	232.000	72

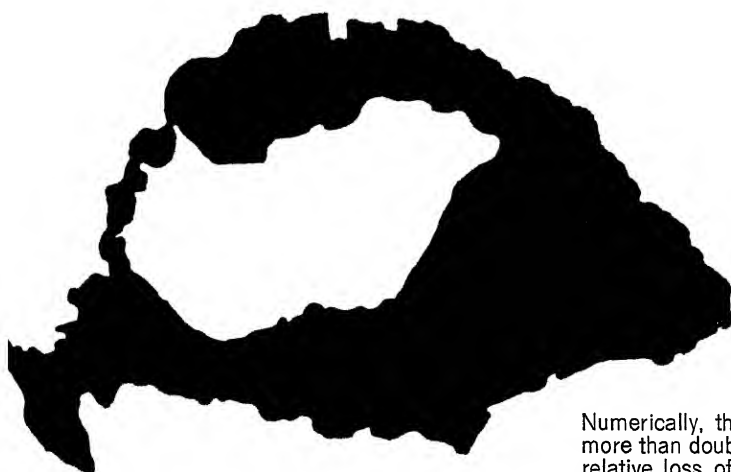
*) Prior to the 1910 Balkan War the territory of Bulgaria had an area of 96 000 square kilometres

The Kingdom of Hungary lost more than three times as much territory as Germany, which is a far larger country. The relative loss of territory is 13% in the case of Germany and 72% in that of Hungary.

Bulgaria.



Hungary.



Population.

Name of Country	Prior to Great War	After Great War	Loss	
	no of inhabitants			%
Germany (1910)	64,926.000	58,456.000	6,470.000	10
Bulgaria*) (1915)	5,500.000	5,070.000	430.000	8
Kingdom of Hungary	20,886.000	7,516.000	13,370.000	64

*) Prior to the 1910 Balkan War Bulgaria had 4,329.000 inhabitants

Numerically, the loss of population inflicted on Hungary is more than double that of the far larger German Empire. The relative loss of inhabitants is 10% in the case of Germany and 64% in the case of Hungary.

The greatest losses in respect of territory and population resulting from the Great War are therefore those inflicted on Hungary.

Comparison between the Treaty of Trianon and the other Treaties of Peace.

(Continued.)

Which Treaty of Peace was guilty of the greatest injustice in respect of nationality?

The drawings given below show the number of persons declaring themselves to be Germans, Bulgarians or Magyars respectively by language were taken from Germany, Bulgaria and Hungary respectively.

What was done with Germany?



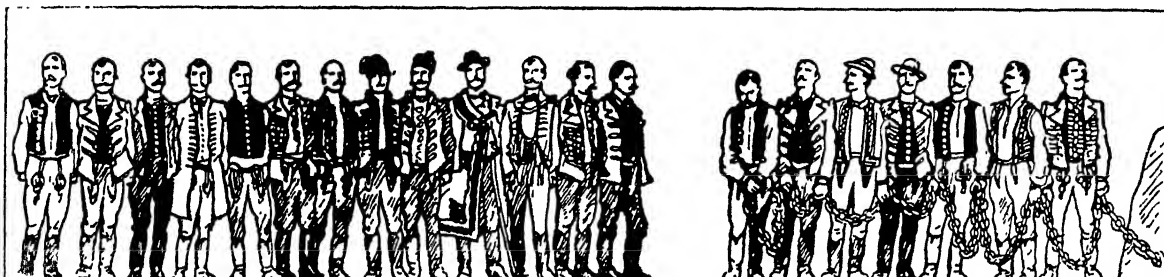
The Treaty of Versailles took from Germany one out of every twenty German nationals whose mother tongue was German.

What was done with Bulgaria?



The Treaty of Neuilly took from Bulgaria one out of every twenty nationals whose mother tongue was Bulgarian

What was done with the Kingdom of Hungary?

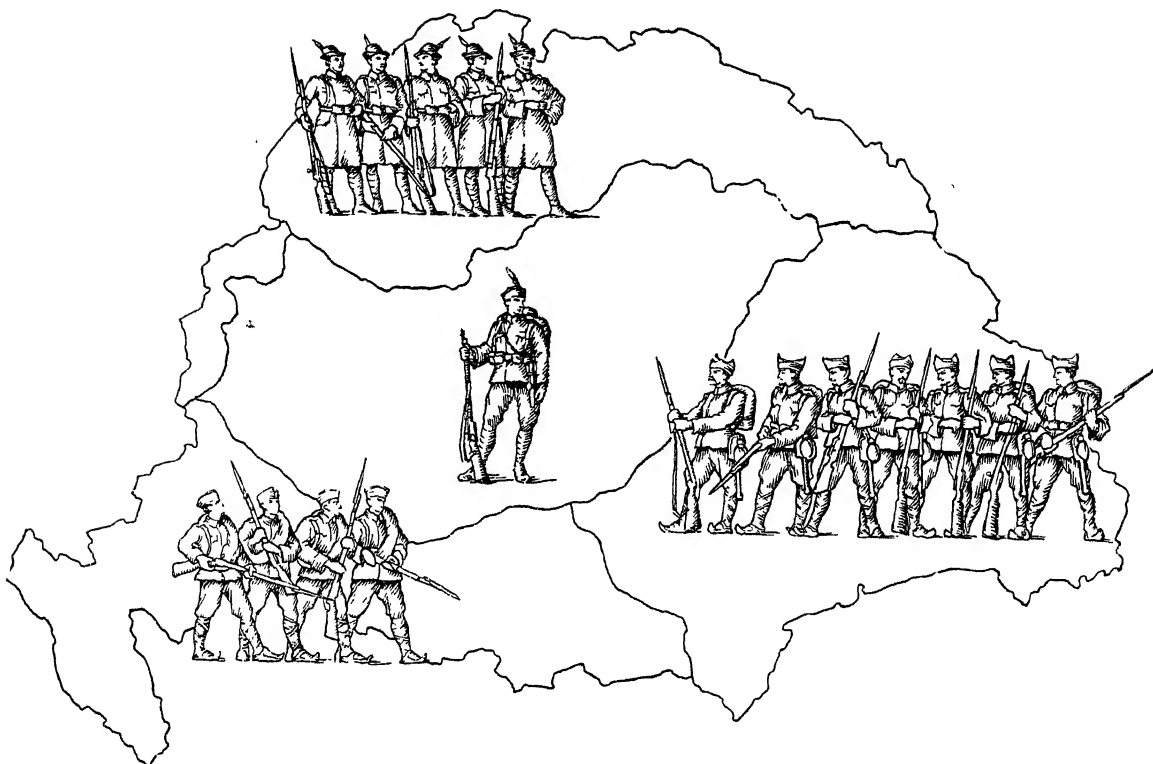


The Treaty of Trianon took from Hungary seven out of every twenty nationals whose mother tongue was Magyar.

The Treaty of Trianon was motivated by the catchword „liberation of the nationalities“, that motivation being used as a pretext for subjecting 3,424,000 Magyars — the vast majority of whom are living in a purely Magyar language area immediately adjoining Dismembered Hungary — to foreign rule.

From the nationality point of view the Treaty of Trianon is therefore the most unjust and the most ruthless of the Treaties of Peace.

SIXTEEN TO ONE.



This is how the Trianon frontiers are guarded! The authors of the Treaty of Trianon were well aware that they were being guilty of injustice to Hungary. They knew that the Treaty of Peace the absurdity of which has been demonstrated here by a whole series of maps and diagrams could only be imposed by force upon a nation possessing vitality. The Treaty of Trianon was brought into being by force. And it is only by force that it can be maintained. So Hungary was completely disarmed by the Peace Edict misnamed a treaty of peace.

It was ordained that the peace and war footing of the Hungarian army should be limited to 35.000 men.

The usufructuaries of the Trianon spoils — the hostile States adjoining Hungary — have however not been subjected to any restrictions whatsoever in respect of armaments. And our neighbours have taken full advantage of the opportunities; for thirteen years after the Armistice that put an end to the Great War they have more men under arms, and are making more vigorous warlike preparations, than ever before. All we can do in this place to give an idea of this feverish preparation for war is to quote the figures relating to the number of soldiers. The peace footing of the three States immediately adjoining Hungary is as follows:

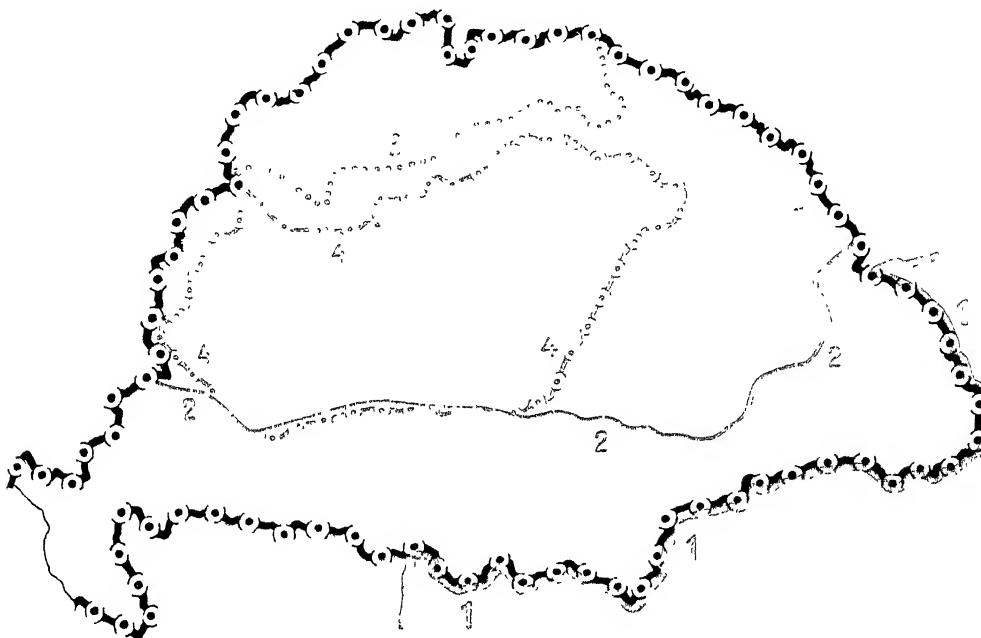
Bohemia .	160.000 men
Rumania .	232.000 men
Yugoslavia	150.000 men
Total	542.000 men

In the event of mobilisation the strength of the three armies combined would be nearly four and a half million men.

It was a Series of Breaches of Armistice Agreements that put Hungary at the Mercy of Bolshevism.

The outbreak of Bolshevism in Hungary was a further pretext for justifying the absurd demarcation of the Trianon frontiers

The red lines show the lines of demarcation.



1. Line of Demarcation fixed by the Armistice Agreement made with General Diaz (4th. November, 1918).

2. Line of Demarcation fixed by the Hungarian-French Armistice Agreement.

3. Line of Demarcation fixed by the Agreement made between Bartha and Hodzsa.

4. The Trianon Frontier.

After the catastrophe that put an end to the Great War, the victorious Powers made a whole series of Armistice Agreements with Hungary. However, they did not observe the terms of any of these agreements.

According to the Diaz Armistice signed on November 4th, 1918, the frontier of the Monarchy was to be the line of demarcation. The part of the line of demarcation touching Hungary is marked on our map with a thick red line. But General Franchet d'Esperay, commander-in-chief of the Balkan forces of the Entente, declared that this armistice agreement was not binding on him, and made a fresh military convention with the Károlyi Government of Hungary, according to which convention the new line of demarcation was to be the line No. 2 marked in red on our map.

The Rumanians passed this line too. Pushing continually forward, they eventually occupied the whole territory subsequently allotted to them by the Treaty of Trianon.

Exactly similar was the situation on the line facing Czecho-Slovakia. Until the collapse of the Monarchy Bohemia had fought, like Hungary, against the Entente armies; so that there could be no question of the Czechs being entitled to occupy Hungarian territories. Nevertheless, during the days immediately following the catastrophe the Czechs began to make their way into the north-eastern parts of Hungary. And the Károlyi Government was eventually driven to open private negotiations with the Czechs. As the result of these negotiations, Milan Hodzsa, the Slovak leader who had joined and was acting on behalf of the Czechs, made an agreement with Albert Bartha, Hungarian Minister of War, acting on behalf of Hungary, and fixed the line of demarcation dotted red on the map. However, the Czechs failed to observe the terms of this agreement as effectually as the Rumanians failed to keep the terms of the Belgrade Military Convention.

The Hungarian nation was driven to despair when it saw that in their dealings with it the victors failed to apply the most elementary requirements of international law and of equity, and that the victorious States were treating all the agreements concluded as „scraps of paper“.

The series of renunciations to which it was exposed finally made the nation completely lose its mental equilibrium. That was the reason why, when on March 21st., 1919, the Károlyi Government resigned office because Colonel Vyss had, in the name of the Supreme War Council, demanded the cession of additional territories to the Rumanians, the country deprived of its faith and of its mental equilibrium fell an easy prey to Bolshevism. On the other hand, at the Paris Peace Negotiations Benesch was able to advance in support of his cause the powerful plea that Bolshevism in Hungary would have to be confined within the narrowest limits possible.

The Kind of Peace which Hungary desired to make with her Neighbours: contrasted with the Kind of Peace actually made with Hungary by her Neighbours.

The Occupation of Rumania at the time when the Treaty of Bucharest was concluded.



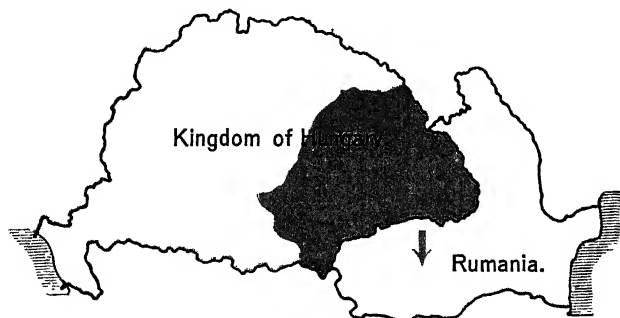
The slightly dotted yellow surface denotes the occupied Rumanian territory. The territory left white was the only territory retained by Rumania.

What did Hungary take from Rumania at the time of her victory, under the Treaty of Bucharest?



The strip of territory coloured red shows the bits of Rumania taken from that country by Hungary.

This is what Rumania took from Hungary under the Treaty of Trianon.



The section coloured red shows the territory taken from Hungary to be given to Rumania.

The six maps to be found on the fifteenth and sixteenth pages of our Album, placed side by side, show in a very interesting manner the principles inspiring Hungary during the Great War — how little she endeavoured, even when in the most brilliant strategic position, to acquire territory at the expense of her neighbours; and on the other hand the ruthless greed displayed by those neighbours in asserting their claims to annex parts of Hungary.

Bohemia.

The maps do not include Czecho-Slovakia at all. For the simple reason that at that time there was no such thing as Czecho-Slovakia. There was a separate Bohemia forming one of the provinces of Austria. However, this Bohemia was not one of the belligerents fighting against us. At that time the Czechs were still fighting on the side of the Monarchy. It was only later on, after the decisive defeat of the Monarchy, that they were promoted to the position of a victor State.

Rumania.

The three maps given on the left-hand side show Rumania and Hungary. In 1916, as map No. 1 shows, the Central Powers were in possession of two-thirds of the territory of Rumania. At that time we were in a splendid position at the other fronts too, and we had every reason to presume that we should issue from the War with flying colours. In December, 1916, we made a separate peace with Rumania. Under this peace — the Treaty of Bucharest — all Hungary was to obtain was a strip of territory some 3,500 square kilometres in area, running almost exclusively through an uninhabited district and containing only 22,915 inhabitants. Hungary protested energetically against being enriched by the allotment of foreign territories; and the fact that the treaty made with Rumania was not a treaty of annexation, must be attributed primarily to the attitude adopted by the Hungarian nation. Under the Treaty of Trianon, on the other hand, territory of an area of 102,000 square kilometres and containing 5,265,000 inhabitants was taken from Hungary to be given to Rumania.

The Kind of Peace which Hungary desired to make with her Neighbours: contrasted with the Kind of Peace actually made with Hungary by her Neighbours (continued).

Serbia.

The kind of peace Hungary desired to make with Serbia.



The slightly dotted yellow surface shows the Serbian territory under occupation. The only part of Serbia still in Serbian hands when Hungary desired to make peace with Serbia, was the little strip of territory left white on the map.

Hungary desired to give Serbia an outlet to the sea.



The red arrow shows that in the day of victory Hungary desired to give Serbia an outlet to the sea.

This is what Serbia took from Hungary under the Treaty of Trianon.

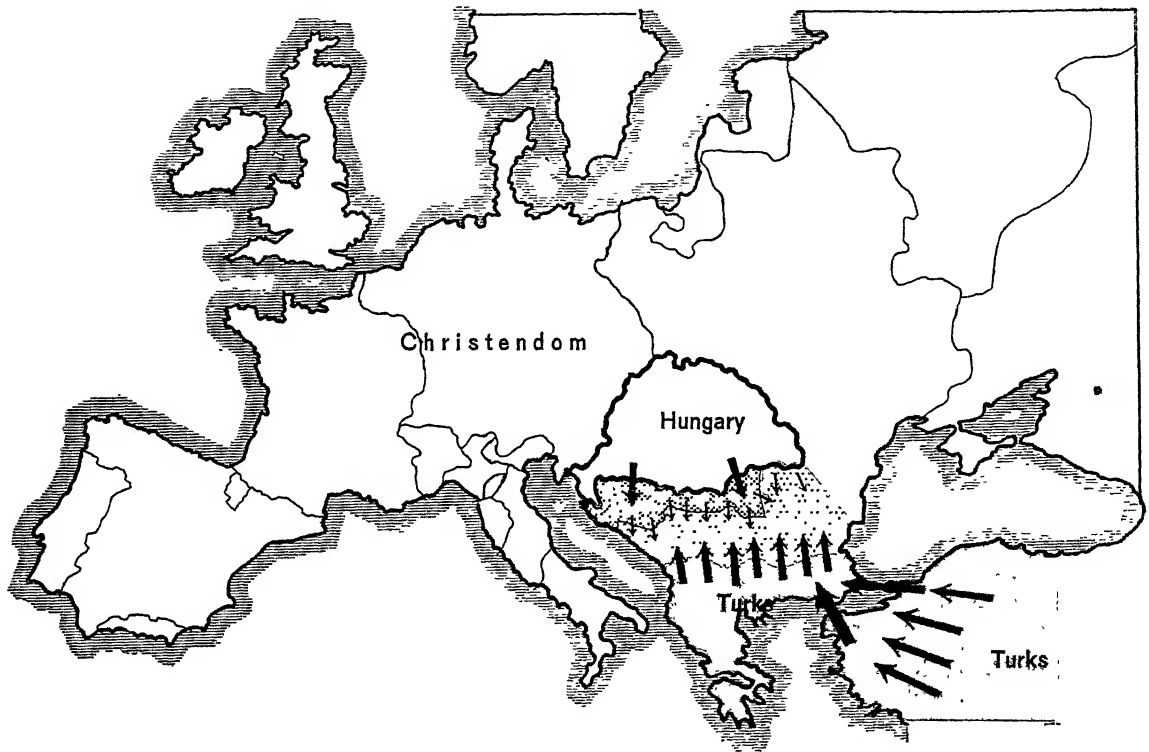


The section of the map coloured red is the territory taken from Hungary; that dotted red is Croatia and Slavonia — which formed part of the Kingdom of Hungary and enjoyed an extensive autonomy, but were annexed to Serbia under the Treaty of Trianon.

The first of these maps shows what an enormous section of Serbia was under occupation by the Central Powers during the second half of the Great War. The whole of Serbia, with the exception of a tiny strip of territory. Never for a moment was there any question of Hungary's area being increased by territory allotted at the expense of the Serbia which had then been beaten and was under occupation. Quite the contrary was the case, as may be seen from the second of these maps of ours. Count Stephen Tisza, Premier of Hungary, suggested to the Emperor William that part of Albania should be given to Serbia to afford that country access to the sea. So the Hungarians did not propose to dismember the territory of Serbia; on the contrary, they desired to add to that territory. The Hungarian nation was anxious to provide Serbia with an outlet to the sea, and thus to promote that country's economic prosperity. Under the Treaty of Trianon, on the other hand, — as may be seen from the last of our maps given here, — 63,000 square kilometres of territory were taken from Hungary to be given to Serbia, Hungary being at the same time deprived of all means of access to the sea.

Hungary the Bulwark of Christendom.

Christian Europe is marked yellow; the territory coloured red represents the extent of the Turkish Empire — still expanding — in the century and a half preceding the Battle of Mohács (1526). The red and black dots show the territory over which the 150 years' fighting extended.



The cradle of the world empire of the Turks was Asia Minor. It was Sultan Murad I. who first brought the Turkish Crescent over to Europe. In 1361 he occupied Adrianople, that involving a menace to Byzantium, the Capital of the Eastern Christian Empire. The Greek Emperors invoked the aid of Louis the Great of Hungary.

The first encounter between the Hungarian forces and the Turks took place in 1366, five years after the occupation of Adrianople. The conflict between the two nations came to an end in 1718, with the conclusion of the Peace of Passarowitz; that meaning that the Hungarians shed their blood for just three centuries and a half in a life and death struggle against the Asiatic Power in defence of Christianity.

The expansion of the power of the Turkish Sultans was partly inspired by religious fanaticism; the object of the Osmanli Emperors being to compel the Christian world by force of arms to adopt the teachings of Mahomet. Greece, Bulgaria, Serbia and the Wallachian Lowlands which had become the home of the Rumanians, fell in succession in the struggle that ensued.

Not one of the Balkan countries was fitted to act as an impediment to check the advance of the Crescent. This historical mission was to devolve on Hungary.

The map given above shows in a striking manner that Hungary was a veritable breakwater stemming the tide of Turkish advance westwards. The Turkish forces advancing from the Turkish Empire (marked red) did not seriously threaten Christian Europe (coloured yellow) until they had made a breach in the Hungarian bulwark. From the days of the first battles fought by Louis the Great to the Battle of Mohács (1526), which resulted in the occupation of part of the country, — i. e. for a century and a half —, the Hungarians carried on a life and death struggle against the advancing Turkish hordes on the territory dotted red and black respectively on our map. The section which is dotted red shows that territory which during the said century and a half was on more than one occasion occupied temporarily by the Turks. The black dots show the advance outposts of the Hungarian defence. It was in these fights that a European fame was won by the doughty Hunyadi János (John Hunyadi); and it is in memory of his victory at Belgrade that the bells of the Christian churches every day at noon sound the midday angelus. After the Battle of Mohács Hungary was divided into three parts; and more than a third of the country — together with the fortress of Buda — was occupied by the Turks.

However, the part of the country which had not fallen under Turkish rule continued the defensive struggle, keeping the Turkish forces so busy that the latter, though they made repeated attempts to do so, were unable to continue their advance against Western Christendom. Consequently, Hungary is fully entitled to boast that it was she who stemmed the advance of the Osmanli armies and saved Western Christian culture from annihilation by Islam.

Hungary and the Bolshevik Danger.

One of the most important questions of pre-War Europe was panslavism, — the endeavour of Russia with her population of 174 million souls to unite the Slavs living in Germany, Austria-Hungary and the Balkan States in a huge world empire under her direction and control. Russia, which stretches over two continents, would in this manner have extended her political power over some 50—55 million souls; she would have advanced her outposts right into the heart of Europe; and she would have conquered Constantinople, of which city it has often been said that in the hands of a Great Power it is the key to the empire of the world. The map printed on the opposite page — the red-lined part of which shows European Russia, the part coloured yellow the rest of Europe — illustrates in a striking manner the political situation here sketched.

The very first glance shows that Germany with her 67 million and Austria-Hungary with its 52 million inhabitants were natural obstacles impeding the expansion westwards of Russia. In pre-War days opinions were still divided in respect of the danger to the balance of power in Europe involved by the advance of panslavism. It was the vital interest of France, for instance, to make an alliance with Russia for the purpose of holding Germany in check; indeed, later on France persuaded Great Britain too to adopt that attitude, though her anxiety to ensure the safety of the route to India against Russian expansion had made Britain for a very long period previously fain to do everything to thwart the purposes of Russian policy. However, the situation changed the moment Russia came to represent, not panslav endeavours, but Bolshevik imperialism. For on the one side stands the Europe intent on maintaining the bourgeois order, and on the other the Soviet Empire, marked on our map in red, the colour of the Bolshevik revolutionaries. This new Russia is the implacable foe of every country professing the principle of private property; and even despite the curtailment of its frontier line it still numbers a population of 140 million souls, — a hundred and forty million subservient tools and weak puppets at the beck and call of the Soviet power!

The Soviet Republic has never made any secret of its intentions. It is engaged in openly preparing the way for a world revolution; and, as was proved by the campaign against Poland in 1920, the Soviet does not shrink from even resorting to the force of arms to compel the rest of the world to accept Lenin's teachings. However, the defeat inflicted on it near Warsaw has taught the Soviet to be cautious. The apostles of the world revolution cherish no more illusions; they know now that if they wish to overcome the capitalist States they will need far more exhaustive military preparations and a far greater industrial efficiency than they originally believed. That is why during recent years Soviet Russia has been at work feverishly and as rapidly as possible developing its army. The so-called „five years' scheme“, which has for ostensible object the re-organisation of industrial and agrarian production in Russia, also primarily serves military ends. Against whom are all these preparations being made? Against the whole world. The moment they feel strong enough, the rulers of Moscow will defy the whole capitalist world.

If we glance at the second map showing Red Russia, we shall be flabbergasted to see the utter disintegration and disunion of the Europe which has one day to face the inevitable „settling of accounts“. The two strong bulwarks which in pre-War days counterbalanced the forces of panslavism and would even today have been able to deliver the rest of Europe from the oppressive fear of Bolshevism, have been dismantled. Germany with her population of 67 millions has been confined within narrower limits and deprived of her armaments. The Austro-Hungarian Monarchy with its population of 52 millions has been cut up into many parts: and both Austria and Hungary have been disarmed.

And who is there to assume the mission fulfilled by Hungary during the Turkish Wars? Who is there capable of defending European civilisation against a fresh inroad of Asiatic barbarism? In this respect naturally Esthonia with its 1,000,000, Lithuania with its 2,000,000 and Latvia with its 2,000,000 inhabitants cannot be taken into account at all. That leaves two neighbouring States, — Poland, with a population of 30,000,000 and Rumania, with a population of 17,000,000 souls. Quite apart from all other considerations, these two countries combined do not represent the power represented prior to the Great War by either Germany or Austria-Hungary. The place of the former Austro-Hungarian Monarchy is taken today by a Czecho-Slovakia with 14 million, an Austria with 7 and a Hungary with 9 million inhabitants, part of the Monarchy being represented today also by Yugoslavia, a country of 12,000,000 inhabitants. Where — in which of these countries — are we to expect to find the power able to defend Europe in the event of a crisis?

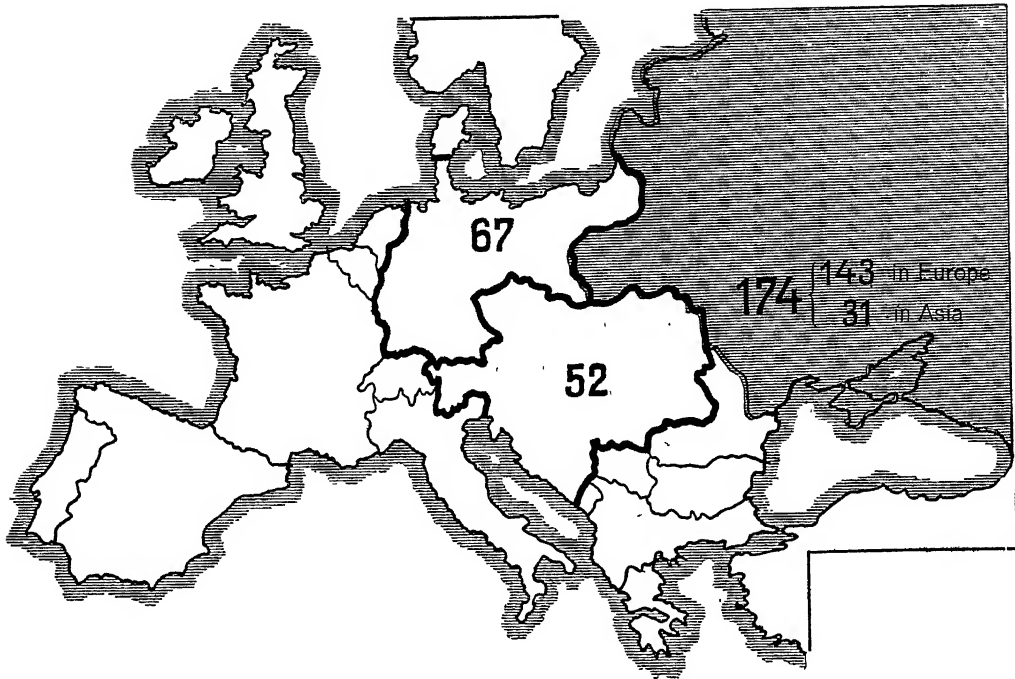
Czecho-Slovakia in 1920 furnished proofs positive of its unreliability; not only did that country fail to give Poland its active support: it actually used every means to weaken the position of the country engaged in a life and death struggle with the Russians. Germany showed at Rapallo that she is quite able when required to reconcile her own interests with those of the Russian Soviet. And Austria would undoubtedly adapt her own policy to suit that of Germany.

Every country that has to be left out of account offers a fresh proof of the importance and significance of the Hungary situate in the rear of Rumania. The only point at which it would be possible to check the advance of a Russian army moving south-east is the ring of the Carpathians. Now, the ring of the Carpathians cannot possibly be defended unless the defenders can depend on the support of the Hungarian Lowlands. Still less would it be possible to defend that position if the Hungarian nation living in those Lowlands, embittered by the dismemberment of their country, entertain hostile feelings towards those whose business it is to make a firm stand on the ring of the Carpathians. The ring of the Carpathians cannot be defended effectually except by a strong and united State occupying the whole of the basin between the Danube and the Tisza. The dismemberment and partition of Hungary thus renders impossible a united and successful resistance to a Bolshevik advance, — particularly in view of the fact that the wisdom of the Treaty-makers of Trianon has disarmed even the small Hungary of today, with its nine million inhabitants, and forbidden her to employ any serious means of warfare.

What has been said above makes it quite evident that the situation for which the makers of the Treaty of Trianon are responsible is a veritable temptation to the Bolshevik danger to penetrate into the heart of Europe.

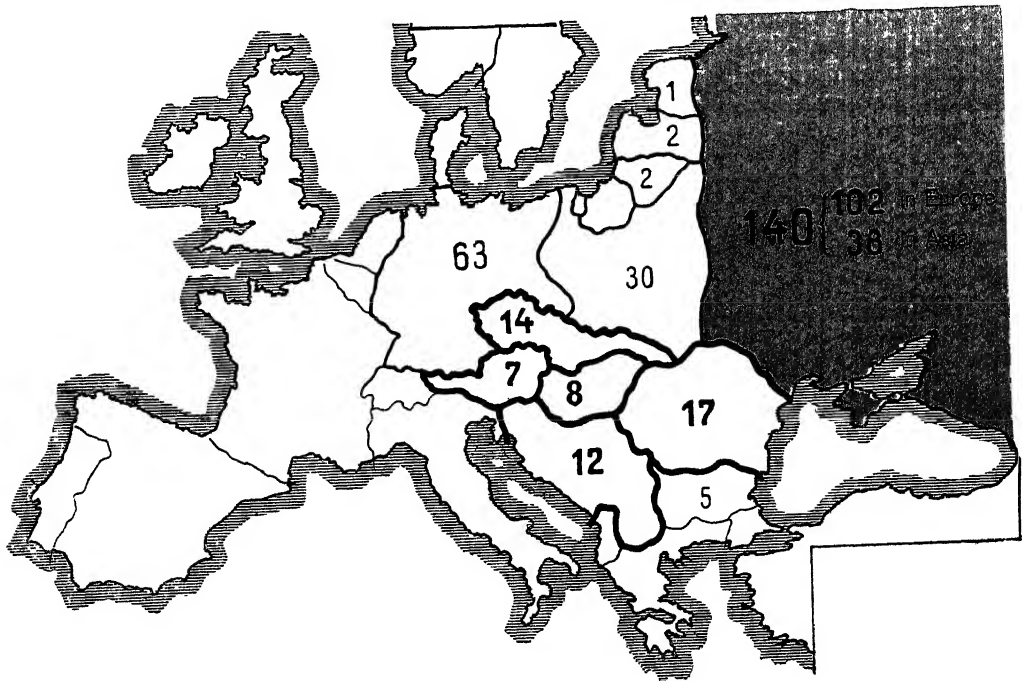
Political Map of Europe in pre-War Days.

The figures on the maps show the number of inhabitants of the several countries.



Political Disintegration of Europe during the Period of the Bolshevik Menace

The figures on the maps show the number of inhabitants of the several countries.



The Economic Havoc wrought by Trianon.

The Treaty of Peace tore asunder the economically complementary territories of the Kingdom of Hungary.

Old Hungary formed a perfect economic unit; the corn-producing Hungarian Lowlands and the mountainous districts rich in ores and timber and pasture-land were complementary one to the other. So long as these two territories were united, both the Lowlands and the Highlands were healthy and sound. Trianon separated the two parts of the country, the result being that the inhabitants both of Dismembered Hungary and of the districts cut off from the mother country have been reduced to an economic impasse. This economic tragedy is illustrated in a striking and easily intelligible manner by the two maps to be found below. The one deals with the shortage and overproduction respectively of cereals, the other with the distribution of forest land.

I. Shortage or overproduction of cereals (by districts).

The territories marked blue on the map produce surplus supplies of cereals (wheat and rye), those marked red depend upon imported cereals.



The inner thick black line shows the Trianon frontier.

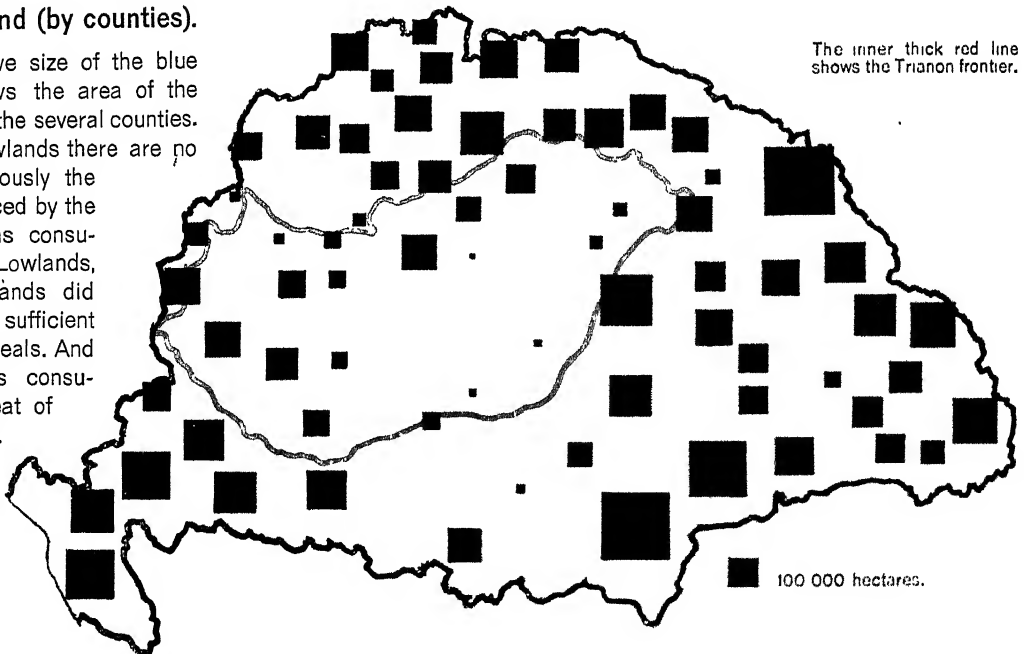
The blue squares show the annual surplus production of cereals (in thousands of metric quintals) by counties.

II. Forest land (by counties).

The relative size of the blue squares shows the area of the forest land of the several counties.

In the Lowlands there are no forests. Previously the timber produced by the Highlands was consumed by the Lowlands.

The Highlands did not grow a sufficient quantity of cereals. And the Highlands consumed the wheat of the Lowlands.



The inner thick red line shows the Trianon frontier.

100 000 hectares.

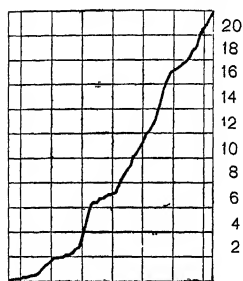
This ideal economic unit was torn to pieces by Trianon. In the Hungarian Kingdom forming this ideal economic unit a vigorous economic development had begun to make headway: and, if she had not suffered the losses in territory inflicted upon her after the Great War, Hungary today would be one of the economically soundest and most flourishing countries in Europe.

Prior to the Great War the Kingdom of Hungary had begun to show a vigorous Economic Development.

The object of the diagrams given below is to offer some idea of this development.

Railway construction.

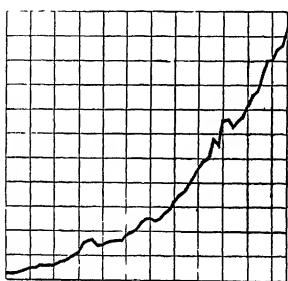
Length of lines by years
1000 of km.



from 1846 to 1913

Annual coal output.

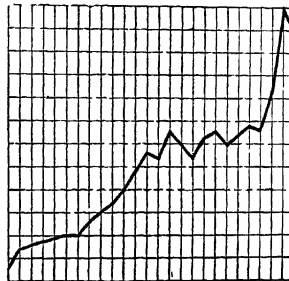
millions of metric quintals



from 1855 to 1913

Annual sugar output.

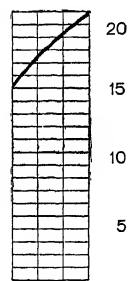
1000 of metric quintals



from 1888 to 1913

Development of population (by decades)

millions



1880—1910

The development of the Kingdom of Hungary showed equally eminent results in other branches of its economic life too. This could be shown by the publication of a long series of diagrams. The country owed its pre-War economic prosperity to the fact, already referred to, that it was an economic unit. **Trianon destroyed the economic unity of the country. Thareby it destroyed the country's economic prosperity too. Therefore: Trianon is responsible for the economic difficulties that have arisen in the territories of the former Kingdom of Hungary. Trianon condemned to grave economic trials affecting the whole of Europe, not only the people of Dismembered Hungary, but also the inhabitants of the severed territories.**

Economic Policy of Kingdom of Hungary.

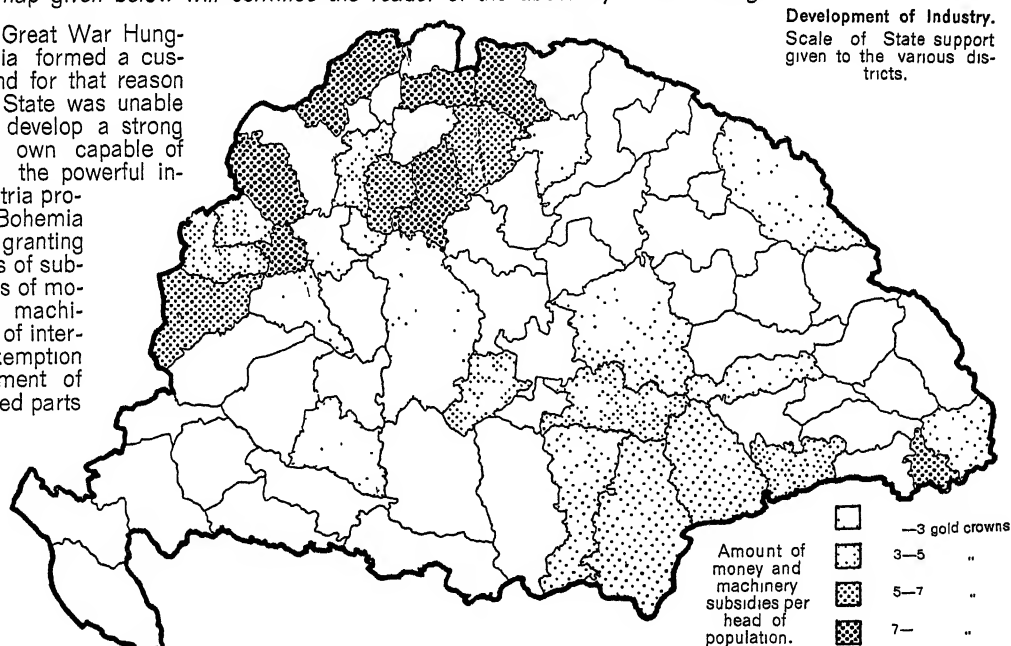
The enemies of pre-War Hungary charged her with oppressing the non-Magyar nationalities. A mere glance at the map given below will convince the reader of the absurdity of this charge.

Prior to the Great War Hungary and Austria formed a customs union; and for that reason the Hungarian State was unable to create and develop a strong industry of its own capable of competing with the powerful industries of Austria proper and of Bohemia except by the granting of various kinds of subsidies — grants of money, grants of machinery, loans free of interest, and exemption from the payment of taxes. The dotted parts of the map show the districts subsidised by Government; the volume of the support given by the State being shown by the density of the dots (the denser the dots, the greater the subsidies granted). A comparison of the dotted parts of the map will show that the Hungarian State spent the largest amounts for the subsidising of industry in the districts most densely populated by non-Magyar nationalities, those being the regions most in need of fresh opportunities of earning

This fact too proves that the Hungarians did not pursue any anti-nationality policy.

The industry created by the aid of the subsidies granted by the Hungarian State has for the most part been ruined as a result of the annexation of the respective districts to foreign countries. The Czechs proceeded systematically to „starve“ the industry of the districts allotted to them from the territory of old Hungary.

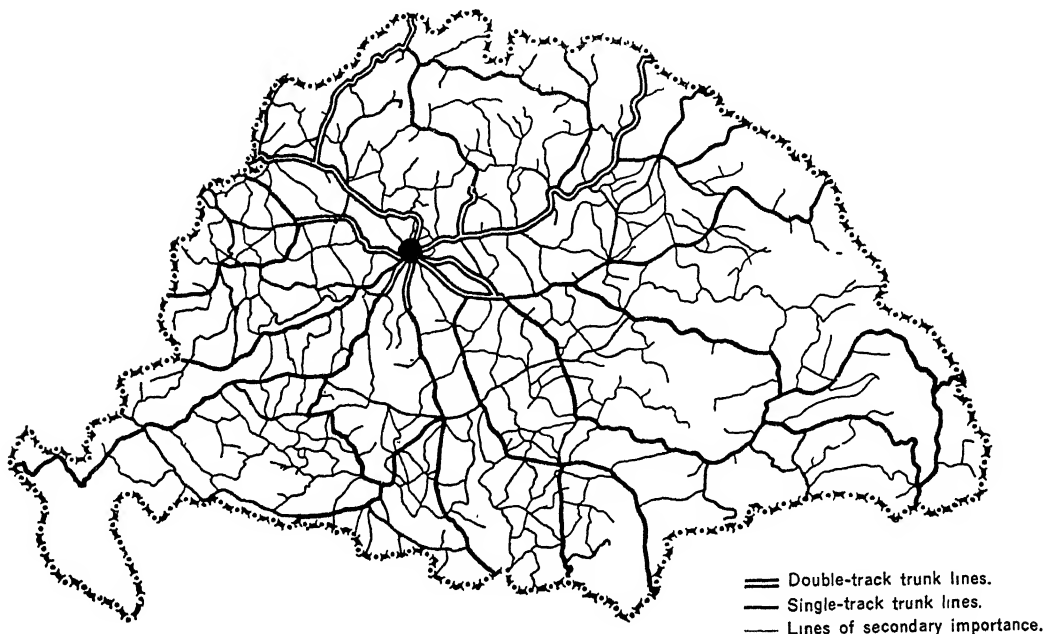
This is the difference between Hungarian „oppression“ and the „liberation“ provided by Trianon.



The Enormous Economic Losses of the Hungarian State.

The Trianon frontiers and the railway system.

In 1913 the length of the railways of the Hungarian Kingdom was 22,081 kilometres. The length of the railways of present-day Hungary is 8,364 kilometres



As a consequence of the country's being a geographical and economic unit, a uniform railway system developed with Budapest as its natural centre, that being the result of the geographical position of the Capital.

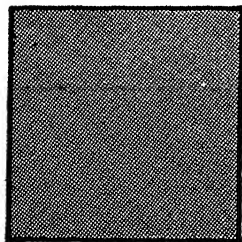
When it separated from one another the economically interdependent parts of the country, the Treaty of Trianon also tore to shreds the uniform railway system. As a customs boundary the Trianon frontier has thrown infinite difficulties in the way of an exchange of goods between the several parts of the former Kingdom of Hungary, and that has involved a serious blow to the inhabitants of both present-day Hungary and of the severed territories.

The Treaty of Trianon has thus checked the natural blood circulation of old Hungary. And to check the natural blood circulation means eventually to bring about the decay of the several parts.

Forest-Land

area in thousands of cadastral yokes

15.222



In 1913, in the territory of the former Kingdom of Hungary.

1.825



In the territory of present-day Hungary.

Of the total area of 15.2 million cadastral yokes of forest-land formerly belonging to the Hungarian State, 13.4 million cadastral yokes — 88% — were taken away by the Treaty. In the economic life of present-day Hungary this enormous loss shows a very detrimental consequence, for, whereas in pre-War times the Kingdom of Hungary exported wood, the wood and timber imports head the list of imports today in respect of value.

Pine forests

area in thousands of cadastral yokes.

3.382



In 1913, in the territory of the former Kingdom of Hungary.

85



In the territory of present-day Hungary.

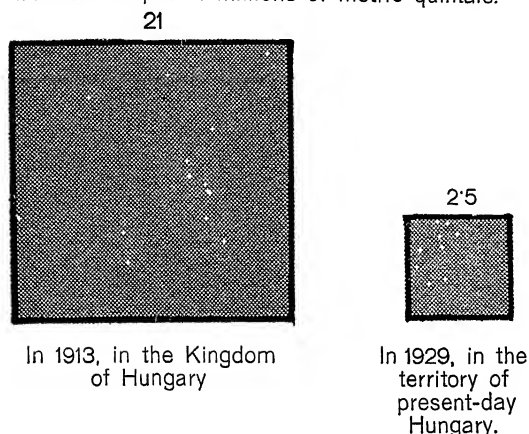
Hungary has lost practically all the pine forests included in older Hungary, so she has to import her building timber too from abroad.

The loss of its pine forests has deprived the country also of the most important raw material of its paper industry, so that it is compelled to import from abroad the paper made from that material.

The Enormous Economic Losses of the Hungarian State (continued).

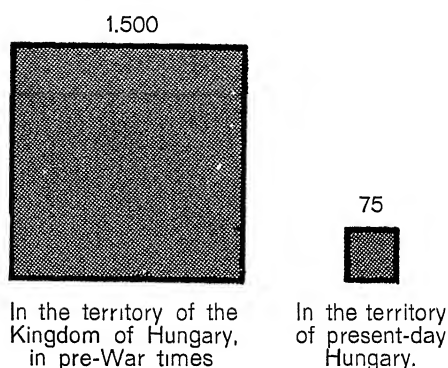
Iron Ore Mining.

Iron ore output in millions of metric quintals.



Water Power.

Utilisable water power, in thousands of HP.



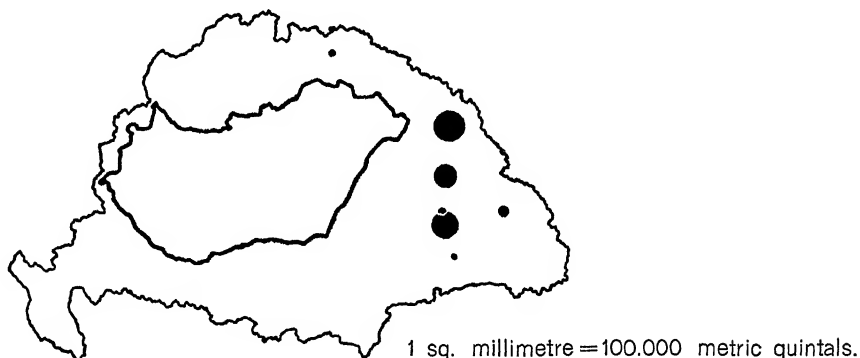
As a consequence of the Trianon frontiers, the iron ore output of Hungary has been reduced by 85—90%.

All our iron mines, with a single exception, have been taken from us. And the supply of this one mine will, in the opinion of experts, be very shortly exhausted.

As a consequence of the Treaty of Trianon, Hungary has lost 95% of her utilisable water power

Salt Mines.

The size of the circles indicates the pre-War volume of the output per mine.



In pre-War days the Kingdom of Hungary exported salt. Trianon deprived the country of all its salt mines, the result being that new Hungary is compelled to import all the salt she requires from abroad.

Hungary is the only country in Europe today unable to produce salt within its own borders.

We shall not continue the enumeration of the country's losses, for the above data will suffice in themselves to convince the reader that the Treaty of Trianon inflicted on the Hungarian State losses of such severity that that state can never acquiesce in the same.

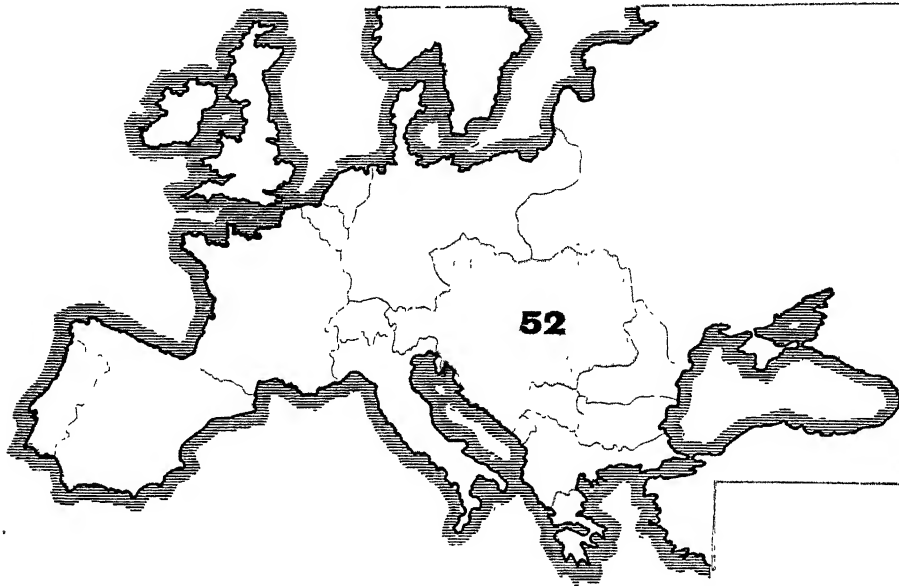
Three and a half million Magyars have been subjected to a foreign rule. The bulk of the country's forests, coal mines, water power, and iron ore mines, as well as all its salt, gold and silver mines, have been taken from its. The country has been shut off from the sea. And the severity of these losses has been still further aggravated by the fact that the country's present territory has been cut off from the outside world by the extremely high customs duties imposed by the Czech, Austrian, Serbian and Rumanian customs authorities.

However, even this attempt to annihilate the Hungarian nation has failed. The Hungarian nation — which has more than once proved its vitality — refuses to yield to despair; and refuses also to acquiesce in the treaty of peace forced upon it, demanding with unswerving insistence the revision of the Treaty of Trianon.

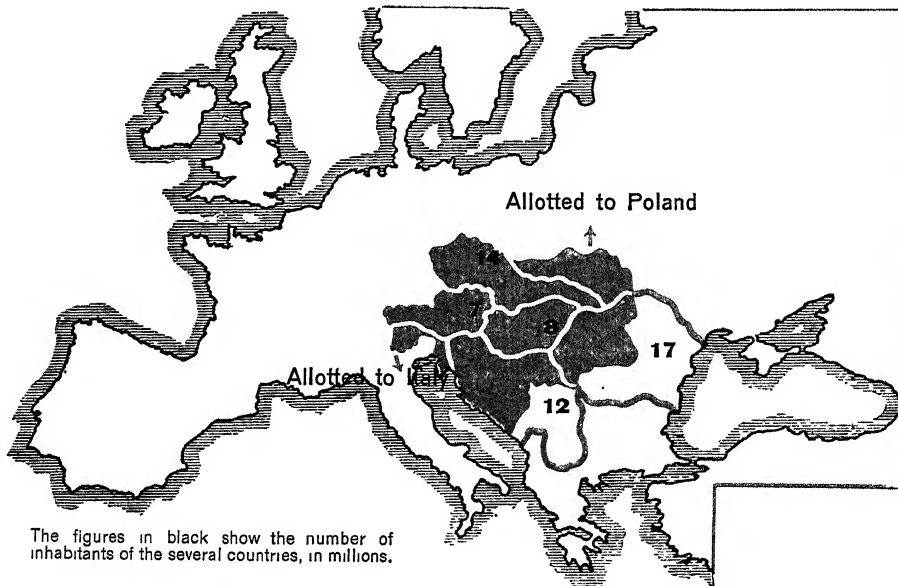
The Peace Treaties concluded after the Great War have created a Permanent Economic Crisis in Europe.

The two maps given below show the distribution of the territory of the customs union of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, a territory with a total population of 52 million souls.

The territory coloured red show the extent of the territory of the pre-War Austro-Hungarian customs union.



The Peace Treaties concluded after the Great War divided this big customs union into seven parts.



The Austro-Hungarian Monarchy has been split up into an independent Austria, Czecho-Slovakia and Hungary, certain slices of its territory being in addition allotted to Rumania, Serbia, Poland and Italy. The partition of the territory of the Austro-Hungarian customs union has not served the interests of the population; on the contrary, it has made this territory the scene of an economic crisis acting detrimentally upon the economic life of the whole of Europe. The difficulty of alleviating this economic crisis is increased by the political attitude adopted by the Succession States cut out of the body of the Monarchy. In their concern for the safety of the territories acquired from Hungary, Rumania, Yugoslavia and Czecho-Slovakia have adopted a policy of the most rigid isolation in dealings with Hungary, having converted the Trianon frontiers into practically unsurmountable customs barriers. The economically interdependent parts of the former customs union are thus artificially kept asunder, that resulting in the aggravation and perpetuation of the economic crisis accompanying the mistaken provisions of the Treaty of Trianon.

WE CHARGE THE DRAFTERS OF THE TREATY OF TRIANON,

**with having made the worst, most absurd
and most ruthless peace known to history, for :**

they cut away three-fourths of the territory of Hungary and two-thirds of her population, thereby inflicting on our nation a punishment greater than that suffered by any other of the vanquished peoples;

they tore to pieces the ideal geographical and economic unit formed by Hungary;
they created an economic chaos in the valley of the Middle Danube;

they subjected cultured peoples with European morals to the rule of peoples possessing a far lower standard of culture and a Balkan morality;

they have brought into being in the very heart of Europe nationality conditions far worse than those prevailing prior to the Great War;

they have perpetuated in these parts of Europe oppression by force and a political and economic chaos which forms a lasting obstacle to the peace of Europe and to a radical remedying of the economic crisis so detrimentally affecting the whole world;

they have created in the very heart of Europe a fresh hotbed of unrest — far more dangerous than any previously in existence in this part of Europe, — and instead of laying the foundations of a lasting peace as a relief from the horrors of the Great War, have only sown the seeds of fresh catastrophes.

**In justification of these charges we adduce the following
evidence :**

PART ONE.

THE TREATY OF TRIANON : THE CRIMES IT HAS PERPETRATED.

I.

THE TREATY OF TRIANON THE MOST RUTHLESS OF ALL THE TREATIES.

1.

(The Treaty of Trianon in figures.)

Prior to the Great War the area of Hungary was 325,000 square kilometres. The Treaty of Trianon reduced the area of Hungary to 93,000 square kilometres.

Prior to the Great War the population of Hungary — inclusive of Croatia — numbered 20,886,000 souls. The population of the Hungary left by the Treaty of Trianon was only 7,516,000 souls.

The Treaty of Trianon forced 33.5% of the Magyar people to accept the yoke of a foreign rule, distributing the territory of a country with a thousand years' past without consulting the wishes of the people living

therein. *This territory was distributed without a plebiscite being held anywhere.* The new frontiers split up a superb geographical and economic unit, involving in misery and destitution alike the sections thus cut off from the mother country and the Disembled Hungary of today, which has been deprived of her forests, her mines, her water power, and all her other natural treasures. The new frontiers have been demarcated in a manner rendering their strategical defence impossible. Hungary has been subjected to a one-sided process of disarmament leaving her entirely at the mercy of her neighbours, who continue unhindered to add to their armaments at their will.

This is what the Treaty of Trianon has done to Hungary!

(Hungary was treated more ruthlessly than any other country by the Treaties of Peace concluded after the Great War; for she has lost more inhabitants and more territory than any other of the defeated belligerents.)

What has been said already will explain why we say that no other country was so ruthlessly treated by the makers of the Peace Treaties as Hungary.

We are of course well aware that the Peace Treaties demanded very grave sacrifices also of those other States which fought with Hungary on the losing side in the Great War. We must not forget however that *the greatest treasures possessed by a State — the surest pledges of its existence and its future — are its territory and its population. And the losses in territory and population inflicted upon Hungary are so enormous that it is impossible to compare them with those suffered by the other defeated States.* Austria must be excluded from any comparison of the kind; for that country cannot be put on a level with Hungary in this respect. Austria was never a political unit, but a mosaic composed of provinces acquired by conquest, each living a separate national life. That the Great War should shatter Austria and break it up into its constituent elements, is no matter for surprise. It is more than probable that disruption would have set in sooner or later even without the intervention of the Great War. Hungary, on the other hand, was already a compact unit in pre-War days, while still forming part of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy; she had had an unbroken history and had developed into a united national State such as Germany or Bulgaria.

Let us compare the figures showing the losses inflicted on Hungary, Germany and Bulgaria respectively. Germany has lost 13% of her former territory; Bulgaria's losses in territory amount to only 8%; *Hungary, on the other hand, has been robbed of 72% of the territory which had been in her possession for over a thousand years — i. e. of almost exactly three-fourths of her original area.*

It should be noted that the effect of the losses incurred by Bulgaria as a consequence of the Great War is to some extent counter-balanced by the fact that the first Balkan War added to both her territory and her population. Under the Treaty of Versailles Germany had to surrender 10% of her pre-War population. The Treaty of Neuilly deprived Bulgaria of 8% of her population. No doubt the sacrifice involved was painful and bitter enough; but what is that sacrifice when compared with the losses of Hungary? The Treaty of Trianon cut off from the mother country *64% of the population of the Greater Hungary of pre-War days, — that*

being slightly more than two-thirds of the total number of inhabitants! The gravity of the loss inflicted will be seen to even more advantage when we make a comparison from a racial point of view between the several groups of inhabitants cut off respectively from the three States in question. *Out of every twenty German nationals who were German by speech one has been subjected to a foreign rule; the same being true of Bulgaria too. But of every twenty Hungarian nationals who were Magyars by speech no fewer than seven have been compelled to become citizens of foreign and hostilely disposed States.*

3.

(For strategical reasons the Treaty of Trianon cut pure Magyar areas off from the territory of Dismembered Hungary.)

The seriousness of this cruel injustice is aggravated by the fact that *the Hungarian nationals cut off from the mother country included more than a million and a half pure Magyars, a considerable proportion of whom are living in compact masses in areas immediately adjoining sections of Dismembered Hungary inhabited by their racial kin. The persons responsible for drafting the Trianon frontiers for purely strategic reasons allotted to the Succession States areas of exclusively Magyar territory simply for the purpose of enabling the Serbians to penetrate into the district lying between the Danube and the Tisza, the Rumanians to set foot in the Hungarian Lowlands, and the Czechs to occupy the left bank of the Danube as far as Szob, from where long-range guns can at any time bombard the Hungarian Capital.*

Prior to the Great War the Hungary enclosed by the Carpathians on the North and East and bounded on the South by mighty rivers, had the most perfect natural frontiers possible. Post-Trianon Hungary — apart from the boundary lines of the Danube and the Drave — has been encircled artificially by open frontiers running across flat country, — frontiers inviting and even tempting Hungary's enemies to invade her. But even that was not enough to satisfy the treaty-makers. *The country deprived of its strategic frontiers was actually disarmed and rendered quite incapable of offering any resistance whatsoever to any attempt on the part of its neighbours to violate its independence.*

4.

(Hungary disarmed, her army restricted in numbers, and all modern means of national defence taken from her.)

According to the Treaty of Trianon, Hungary is entitled to maintain an army of only 35 000 men. As contrasted with this state of things, the peace footing of the Rumanian

army is 232,000, that of the Czech army 160,000, and that of the Yugoslav army 150,000 men. *In other words, the Trianon army of 35,000 men is all that Hungary has to set over against the 542,000 men of the combined armies of the adjoining States, which form an almost complete ring round Hungary and make no secret of their hostile feelings.* The above figures, however, represent only the peace footing of those armies. In the event of a mobilisation this disproportion — absurd as it is even now — would assume quite fantastic dimensions. The Trianon army of Hungary has no reserves, — not can it have any; it has no system — and can have no system — of mobilisation. *In the event of our new neighbours mobilising, our army would remain on its peace footing, while the neighbouring States could put in the field 4,365,000 men for the subjugation of Hungary.* This army of nearly four and a half million men would be provided with the most efficient modern equipment. Its advance would be covered by a fleet of 1,200 military aeroplanes. The army would be followed by heavy artillery, tanks, mine-layers, and apparatuses for the generation of gas. And we should be unable to defend ourselves against the attack, for the Treaty of Trianon forbids us to possess military aeroplanes, heavy artillery, tanks, mine-layers, etc.

A remarkable fact, characteristic of the methods pursued to bring about the situation in which Trianon has involved Hungary, is that we are prevented not only from making gas attacks, but from protecting ourselves against gas attacks!

And the League of Nations — which was entrusted with the work of directing the interpretation of the disarmament provisions of the Treaty of Peace — in this case too, as in so many others, applied two different standards in dealing with Hungary and Hungary's enemies respectively. *It permitted the conquerors to engage in the manufacture of murderous gases — pretending that these gases served industrial purposes too. On the other hand, when Hungary, referring to the fact that the manufacture of murderous gases was proceeding unimpeded in the conqueror States, applied to the League of Nations for permission under such circumstances to manufacture gas masks, the application was refused by the Council of the League. Later on the prohibition was amended, permission being granted to Hungary, as possessing an army of 35,000 men, to manufacture 50,000 gas masks.*

Nevertheless, even under such circumstances, should the Czecho-Slovak military authorities one fine day decide to send their aircraft with murderous gas bombs to attack Budapest — which is only some 35 kilometres (22 miles) from the frontier — or any other town in Hungary, *the civil population*

would be absolutely incapable of protecting itself against a gas attack (which in any case involves a flagrant breach of international law), simply because Hungary does not possess a sufficient supply of gas masks. In other words, the non-military inhabitants of Hungary — women and children, old men and those men who are not serving in the Trianon army — have been simply left at the mercy of a hostile gas attack.

Those responsible for first dismembering Hungary and then disarming the country thus dismembered and depriving her of every means of defence, *evidently quite forgot Hungary's geographical situation, as well as the historical mission which she fulfilled loyally for so many centuries within her historical frontiers.* Hungary is situated in that part of Europe in which the Slav ocean touches the Germanic ethnographical territory. The intact Hungary encircled by the protecting ring of the Carpathians *played a part of paramount importance in the past as a compact power wedged in between the Germanic and Slav forces and maintaining the balance between those forces.* She might have played a similar role in the future too, — if the Treaty of Trianon had not rendered her incapable of continuing to do so. The blunder committed in Paris when Hungary was dismembered becomes particularly obvious when we consider that *the menace to the peace and tranquillity of Europe on the part of Russia is no longer that of pan-Slavism, but of the advance of Bolshevism.* Later on we shall have a further opportunity to deal with this question in detail. In the present connection we would merely establish the fact that *under prevailing conditions it is by no means the interest of Europe to deprive Hungary of every means of defence; that interest would on the contrary advocate the arming to the teeth of Hungary to enable her to defend Western culture and the system of production based on the principle of private ownership.*

5.

(The disarmament of Hungary by the Treaty of Trianon an entirely one-sided affair.)

Hungary is under the strictest control in order to prevent her using her factories even in an emergency for the manufacture of war material and engines of war. *On the other hand, Hungary's neighbours are thoroughly prepared industrially too for any military adventure that may offer. This is peculiarly true of Czecho-Slovakia, which in pre-War days too was a section of the Monarchy of great importance industrially; Bohemia in those days comprised 80% of the total industry of the Monarchy. Today Bohemia possesses more munition and war material*

factories than were in existence during the Great War. These Czech factories are working today, when the whole world is at peace, on a scale which seems based on the expectation of another general conflagration. One example will serve to illustrate this statement. The Skoda Works, which were extended and re-organised in an up-to-date manner after the War by the Czech Government, during the most critical period of the Great War too employed only 30.000 hands; whereas the number of workers employed today by the same factories is 40.000.

This feverish activity on the part of our neighbours — this frantic effort to augment their armaments — is particularly disquieting to us in view of the promises made to us when we were forced to sign the Treaty of Trianon. These promises were to the effect that the compulsory disarm-

ament of the defeated States would be followed by the voluntary disarmament of the conquerors, inasmuch as the latter desired to provide by general disarmament against Europe being ever again exposed to the horrors of war. In Article 8 the Covenant of the League of Nations in the most decided manner lays this obligation upon the conqueror States. In view of the fact that this Covenant was incorporated in the Peace Treaties as well, the moral obligation imposed upon the victorious States has the force of a solemn contract. Every one today knows how the victorious States have fulfilled the obligation thus undertaken by them. They have done just what the Czechs have been and are still doing, — i. e. engaging in a feverish activity for the purpose of augmenting the armaments they already possess, instead of taking steps to reduce them.

II.

HUNGARY NOT RESPONSIBLE FOR THE WAR.

1.

(The responsibility for the War rests not with Hungary, but with those who even prior to the outbreak of the catastrophe were busy preparing the soil for the partition of Hungary.)

And now we may expect to be asked why Hungary had to be so cruelly punished? *The greatest and most heinous crime to be laid at the doors of the Treaty of Trianon is that there is no answer to this „why?“ compatible with common sense.*

At the time when the Treaty of Trianon was drafted, one of the reasons and explanations offered by way of excuse for its ruthlessness was that „Hungary had to be cruelly punished because she was responsible for bringing about the Great War.“

Today not a single serious student of the period will be found to throw the blame on Hungary. Everybody knows now that *the Hungarian people, a nation regarded by Vienna with suspicion and mistrust, never had — and never could have had — a decisive influence upon the leading political and military circles of the Monarchy.* These circles were under the control, not of Hungarians, but of Czechs. On the other hand, the position of the Hungarian nation within the Monarchy rested upon foundations of so preposterous and unstable a character that when during the years immediately preceding the outbreak of the Great War the Hungarians opposed his pro-Czech schemes, which aimed at the annihilation of the Hungarian constitution, Francis Ferdinand — as we read in Leopold von Chlumetzky's „*Erzherzog Franz Ferdinand: Wirken und Wollen*“ — gave orders for the elaboration of a detailed plan for the occupation of Hungary.

That Hungary had never dreamed of preparing for any war, is shown clearly enough by the fact that during the decade and a half immediately preceding the Great War she was continuously at daggers drawn with the Vienna Government responsible for the conduct of the international policy of the Monarchy; *for during that period, when all the States of Europe were striving to develop their military forces, she never ceased to oppose every proposal to increase the strength of the army or to augment the armaments of the Monarchy. The credit required for the construction of the thirteen-inch (30.5 centimetre) mortars was refused by Hungary in 1911, on the ground that such howitzers — which made a name for themselves during the Great War — were not defensive weapons but weapons of offence, and were therefore quite superfluous. However, General Schönaich, then joint Minister of War, committed a grave breach of constitutional procedure and despite Hungary's veto gave orders for the howitzers to be manufactured.*

Today everyone knows further that it was not the Hungarians who caused or prepared the way for the Great War; but that the responsibility lies elsewhere. In its issue of April 8th., 1908, the „*Pester Lloyd*“ disclosed the plan devised by the Russophile Radicals of Serbia for annexing the southern section of Hungary and transferring the same, together with the South Slav provinces of the Monarchy, to the possession of Serbia. The same year *the Czar himself informed Pashitch that the question of Bosnia and Herzegovina could not be settled without a war; so that Serbia should arm herself and wait.*

Panslav agents continually incited Rumania too against us. The Russian Minister in Belgrade, Hartwig, as early as November, 1912, kept requesting the Rumanian Minister, Filality, to inform his superiors in Bucharest that „*Rumania was acting against her own interests in remaining loyal to Austria-Hungary; for when the time came all she would have to do to acquire possession of Transylvania would be to stretch out her hand*“ . In his report dated March 12th, 1914, the German Minister in Bucharest, Waldhausen, informed his Government that *Tardieu — who later on became Secretary General of the Peace Conference and Prime Minister of France — had given a lecture in Bucharest in which he had spoken of „Transylvania, the Alsace-Lorraine of Rumania“.*

A considerable number of authorities on recent international law, agree that „every State endeavouring to provoke a war because it desires to change the existing state of things by means of a war, is politically an aggressor“. Then what has been said above will make it clear to everyone where lies the responsibility for the war in which Hungary had to take part to defend her very life.

2.

(Count Stephen Tisza, Prime Minister of Hungary, opposed the War to the very last.)

And yet, you will say, what gave rise to the legend that Hungary was one of the chief instigators of the Great War? For our bitterest enemies did not shrink from bringing this false charge too against us. *It was Benesch who first — in his description of the notorious Ischl Crown Council which decided in the matter of the ultimatum to be sent to Serbia contained in the pamphlet published by him in 1917 — ventured to assert that „Tisza and the Hungarian nobility had forced the War“.* At the same period Take Jonescu declared that *„the principal author of the Great War was Count Tisza, who had thus provoked the general slaughter“.* However, Take Jonescu went even farther than Benesch, actually asserting that *„Stephen Tisza had had Francis Ferdinand murdered in order to provoke a European war“.*

Since then it has been proved beyond a doubt that Tisza was just as innocent of "forcing the War" as he was of the assassination of Francis Ferdinand.

When after the murder of Francis Ferdinand we had reached the point where a European war seemed inevitable, Count Stephen Tisza, in his capacity as Prime Minister of Hungary, took part in the conferences held by the statesmen of the Monarchy in the matter of the steps to be taken with regard to Serbia.

The question as to how Stephen Tisza, as the representative of Hungary and of the Hungarian nation, behaved at these conferences, is answered by the collection of diplomatic documents published in 1919 by the Austrian Government as part of the material of the Vienna Record Office previously kept secret. We would note that these documents have since appeared in many other collections now made public property, — e. g. in Hans Bittner and Ludwig Uebersberger's „Österreich-Ungarns Aussenpolitik von der bosnischen Krise bis zum Kriegausbruch“ („Foreign Policy of Austro-Hungary from the Bosnian Crisis to the Outbreak of the War“), and also in a French book („Comte Etienne Tisza: Lettres de Guerre“) which was published in Paris during the present year.

In these collections we may find the representations addressed to Francis Joseph by Stephen Tisza immediately after the Serajevo attempt, on July 1st., 1914. In this memorandum the Hungarian Premier writes as follows: „*It was only after my audience that I had an opportunity of speaking with Count Berchtold and of learning of his intention to avail himself of the opportunity provided by the Serajevo deed of horror to settle accounts with Serbia. I did not hide from Berchtold my conviction that this would be a fatal blunder, for which I would not under any circumstances whatsoever undertake the responsibility*“.

The collections include also the minutes of the cabinet meeting held on July 7th., 1914, the same showing that *all Tisza desired to achieve by proceeding against Serbia was a diplomatic success, and that he protested in advance against the formulation of all demands likely to lead to war*. However, the Hungarian Prime Minister was left without supporters; for, as the minutes tell us, the persons taking part in the cabinet council, *„with the single exception of the Hungarian Premier, were of opinion that a diplomatic success would be of no value, even if accompanied by a rapid and indubitable humiliation of Serbia*“.

We find in these collections also the representations (dated July 8th., 1914) submitted to Francis Joseph by Stephen Tisza, the final conclusion of which runs as follows: „*notwithstanding my devotion to the service of Your Majesty — or rather just on account of that devotion — I could not possibly undertake the responsibility for any solution of an exclusively and aggressively warlike character*“.

After reading the data given above, no one will be surprised by the conclusion arrived at by Charles Tisseyre, Member of the French Parliament, in whose book on the Treaty of Trianon we read that „Stephen Tisza was the only statesman of authority in the Monarchy who protested seriously against the idea of a war“. These words of an

impartial historian are the truth: for Count Stephen Tisza, Prime Minister of Hungary, struggled with might and main to prevent the outbreak of the war. However, his efforts in that direction failed. *At the fatal Cabinet Council in Vienna he was outvoted by those Austrian politicians belonging to subordinate nationalities whose native lands today figure in the list of conqueror States.*

Subsequently too Stephen Tisza endeavoured to at least mitigate the probable consequences of the Vienna decision. Vladimir Giesl, formerly Austro-Hungarian Minister in Belgrade, in his book entitled „Zwei Jahrzehnte im nahen Orient“ (Twenty Years in the Near East) tells us that *before the presentation of the ultimatum Tisza had declared that „nothing should be done that was likely to infringe the sovereignty of Serbia and in its ultimate consequences to lead to war“, and that „if the others had other intentions, the King would have to look for another Prime Minister“.*

3.

(Hungary not only opposed the war, but was also opposed to every idea of annexation.)

We would ask those who would like to make Hungary out to be one of the instigators of the Great War, what they consider to have been the object or reason or interest of Hungary in provoking the War? Whatever the issue of the War might be, Hungary was bound to lose, — as she did actually lose, her losses being of an annihilating character —, and had nothing to gain. The statements made by her responsible statesmen on her behalf showed that she repudiated in advance every desire to gain by the War. After his failure to combat the ascendancy of the War Party in Vienna, Count Stephen Tisza endeavoured at least to prevent the campaign from degenerating into a war of conquest and annexation. To that end, on July 14th., 1914, when it had already become evident that the Vienna Party had no intention of renouncing their plan of taking energetic measures against Serbia, *Tisza stipulated as a sine qua non that the Monarchy should declare in advance that she „had no intention of annexing part of the territory of Serbia“.* Finally, according to the text of the minutes included in the collections referred to above, the common (Austro-Hungarian) Cabinet Council held on July 19th., 1914, *on the proposal of the Hungarian Premier, resolved that immediately after the opening of hostilities we should notify the foreign Powers that the Monarchy was not carrying on a campaign of conquest and had no intention of annexing the Kingdom of Serbia“.*

Hungary did not change her anti-annexation attitude even when the fortunes of war favoured her cause. In the autumn of 1915,

when the whole territory of Serbia — with the exception of a narrow strip — was in the hands of the Central Powers, and the Emperor William proposed the annexation and partition of that country, *Stephen Tisza, who interviewed the Emperor in Berlin, vehemently opposed the scheme, and suggested that the Central Powers should make a separate peace with Serbia and give her Albania.* Serbia, on the other hand, adopted an entirely different attitude when the fortunes of war turned in her favour; for under the Treaty of Trianon she accepted 63.000 square kilometres of Hungarian territory, with a population of 4,122.000 souls: in other words, she sequestered more than one-fifth of the territory and population of pre-War Hungary.

We have a similar story to tell in the case of Rumania too. In 1918, when the bulk of Rumania was under occupation by the Central Powers, during the peace negotiations then carried on, *the Hungarian Government, the Hungarian Parliament and Hungarian public opinion agreed in protesting energetically against the idea of augmenting the area of Hungary by the annexation of Rumanian territory. It is to this energetic opposition that we must attribute the fact that the Treaty of Bucharest was not based upon annexation, the only provision of the kind being an adjustment of frontiers in favour of Hungary involving the cession of an area of altogether some 3500 square kilometres.* This rectification of frontiers based upon strategic considerations involved the surrender of wild forest land and uninhabited mountains — and would have meant only 22.915 Rumanian nationals becoming subjects of the Hungarian Crown. Rumania, on the other hand, under the Treaty of Trianon robbed Hungary of 102.000 square kilometres of territory and 5,625.000 inhabitants.

4.

(Hungary was a chivalrous enemy during the Great War.)

It will be seen, therefore, that it was against her will — and in defiance of her own interests — that Hungary was dragged into the Great War. However, once she had been dragged into the great struggle, unless she was prepared to be left at the mercy of those who for years had been planning her destruction, she had no other alternative but to fight. And she did so honestly and in a manly spirit. *But even her enemies at all times admitted that the Hungarian soldier was a loyal and redoubtable enemy on the field of battle, while the soul of the Hungarians behind the front was never infected by that feeling of hatred which upset the mental equilibrium of most of the belligerents and warped the sobriety of their judgment. In Hungary people continued du-*

ring the War to read English, French and Italian books; and the theatres continued to play French, Italian and English pieces. *And Hungary was probably the only belligerent State where alien enemies were not interned or handicapped in any way in their usual pursuits.* When after the conclusion of the Armistice Admiral Troubridge arrived in Budapest as British Member of the Armis-

tice Commission, *a deputation of the British subjects living here called upon him and made representations proving that during the whole course of the War the Hungarians had treated them in a most chivalrous and gentlemanly manner.* Similar admissions have been made on numerous occasions also by the nationals of the other enemy belligerents forced to remain in Hungary.

III.

THE PARTITION OF HUNGARY WAS NOT JUSTIFIED EITHER BY HISTORY OR BY THE NATIONALITY PRINCIPLE OR BY THE RIGHT OF SELF-DETERMINATION.

1.

(The three principal arguments adduced to justify the necessity for the dismemberment of Hungary.)

The reader will surely ask himself now: — „if Hungary was not responsible for the outbreak of the Great War, — if on the contrary until the very last moment she endeavoured to prevent the enormous bloodshed and even in the hour of the most splendid military triumphs insisted upon the conclusion of a peace without annexation — then the reason why she has been so terribly punished is probably that such a course was dictated by some important European or general interest“. And during the period of the so-called peace negotiations certain high-sounding catchwords of the kind were actually used in the endeavour to justify the severe chastisement meted out to Hungary. The three catchwords most frequently employed for the purpose of explaining the need for the dismemberment of Hungary were the following: — 1. historical right; 2. the nationality principle; and 3. the right of self-determination of the peoples.

Let us take these three principles one by one.

2.

(Ancient historical right of the Hungarian nation to the territory of Greater Hungary.)

When the Allied and Associated Powers presented the definitive conditions of peace to the Hungarian Government, they annexed a letter signed by M. Millerand. This covering letter explaining the point of view of the Entente — to which letter we shall return later on in another connection — admitted that the new frontiers had subjected certain centres of the Magyar population to the rule of foreign States. Then it added: — „However, this fact cannot be made the basis of a statement that it would have been better not to disturb the territorial conditions previously prevailing. The existing state of things — even if it have been in existence for a thousand years — has no claim to be left in force in the future, if it has been found to be unjust.“

This is evidently an echo of the arguments adduced by the Czechs and Rumanians to the effect that the Magyar conquerors when they entered Hungary nearly 1200 years ago compelled the Slav and Rumanian peoples whom they found here by force of arms to accept their will.

However, the Magyar conquerors did not find within the territory of the Hungary of later days any definite State formations possessing clearly demarcated frontiers; what they did find was a weltering conglomeration of fragmentary remains of peoples living in a thinly populated territory as the survivors of a wholesale massacre incidental to the great migration of peoples. It is true indeed that the Magyar invaders did compel these ethnic fragments by force of arms to bow to their will. But if we reject the claim of the Hungarians to the possession of the territory which they owned for over a thousand years, — if we advance historical rights on behalf of those peoples which the Magyar conquerors defeated one thousand and thirty-four years ago, — then the section allotted to Austria by Trianon can be claimed only by the Avar Empire; the territory given to Yugoslavia may be claimed by Bulgaria; the only peoples with any right to claim the territories allotted to Rumania are the Dacians (long extinct), the Gepidae and the Petchenegs; while the territory allotted to Czecho-Slovakia must simply be evacuated and declared taboo, seeing that at the time of the Magyar occupation it was practically uninhabited.

3.

(The Hungarian nation the defender of the culture of Europe.)

What was the Hungarian nation doing in Europe for that period of a thousand years which M. Millerand dismisses with such a contemptuous gesture? It spent its time fighting with Tartars and Turks and interposing its own body to save Europe from the onslaught of the wild hordes pouring in from the East. Times without number the Hungarian nation has saved *Europe from the*

on-slaughts of barbarian peoples coming from the East. For a thousand years the spot on which the Magyars had settled was the centre of gravity of the great European wars. When the first King of Hungary, St. Stephen, resolved in his profound statesmanlike wisdom to have his heathen people converted to the Christian faith, the Hungarians broke definitively with the East and threw their lot heart and soul in with the West. When the waves of the great immigration strove to roll onwards, the Hungarian nation became a living breakwater for the protection of Western culture. Must we tell you how many barbarian peoples coming from Asia we had to hold back during the unselfish struggles we fought for Europe? Must we tell you how many times vindictive hordes of savages swept in revenge over our country? Or how often the demolished fortresses had to be re-built and the depopulated districts re-peopled? Once the Tartar army of Jengis Khan, which had filled the whole of Europe with terror, so completely devastated Hungary that no living soul could be found within the range of a fifteen days' journey. Then followed nearly three centuries of warfare against the Turks, — three centuries of Turkish devastation and ravage. We lost blood, but we stood firm, setting a lasting barrier in the way of the advance of Islam. *It is to us that Europe is indebted for not having had to fight during this whole period against Mongol and Turk; it was due to the Hungarians that, while Hungary was being converted into a waste desert of ruins, the happier countries of the West were able to continue in peace to build up their culture.*

The brave Hungarian nation endowed with peculiar political capacity shed its blood in streams to earn the glory of being able to found a united polity in the dangerous territory which had been continuously the battle-field of Europe. *And that is the reason why the Hungarians were unable to create a dominion of a uniform national character, within the natural frontiers closed in by the semi-circle of the Carpathians, at a time when the more fortunate peoples of the West were laying the foundations of their national unity. We had no leisure for such work; for we had to defend Europe and European culture in bloody struggles against the inroads of barbarian Asiatics.*

4.

(The nationalities found in Hungary by the persons responsible for the Trianon re-adjustment, settled in their present homes after the occupation of Hungary by the Magyars.)

To supply the gaps thus arising in the ranks of the Magyar people, during the eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth centuries our kings settled in the country Germans, Italians, Frenchmen, Cumanians and Jazygians.

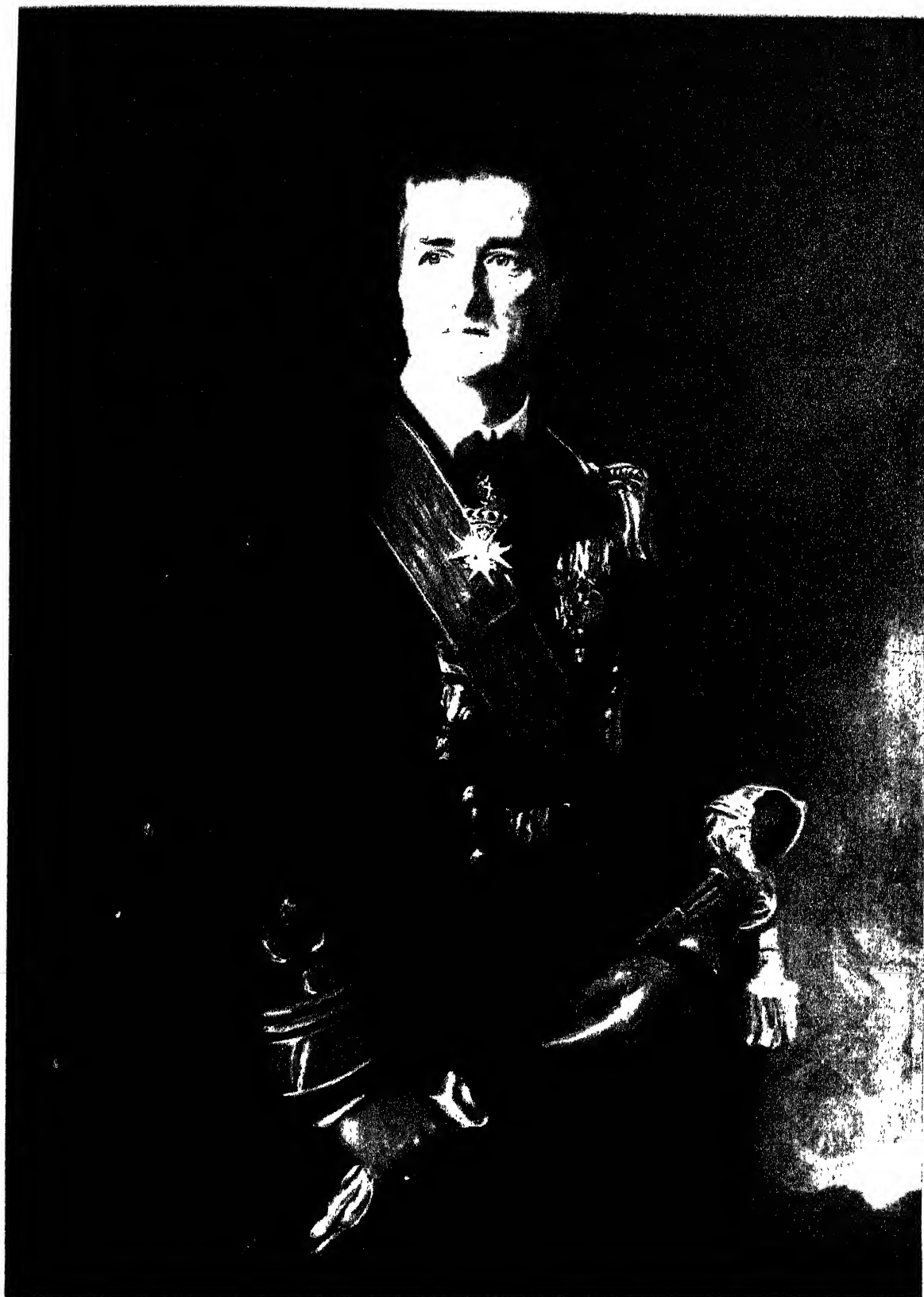
In the thirteenth century Transylvania, which had been depopulated by the struggles to maintain its independence, welcomed the first settlers belonging to that shepherd people whose successors are the Rumanians of today. *This fact proves that the ancestors of the Rumanian people were not in any way connected with the Dacians; still less were they connected with the Roman conquerors of Dacia. At the close of the fifteenth century the Hungarian kings settled the masses of Little Russians or Ruthenians whom the Tartar invasion had rendered homeless on their enormous estates in the North-Eastern Carpathians. It was at the same period that the Serbians fleeing before the Turkish invasion found a home in the southern part of Hungary proper. In other words — those nationality minorities living in Hungary when the Treaty of Trianon was drafted, did not settle in their present homes until after the conquest of the country by the Magyars. They were either introduced as colonists or came to the country as immigrants. Modern science distinguishes between national minorities subjugated by the sword and those which are peaceful settlers. Naturally enough the former are entitled to more rights and a more effective protection than the latter. For a national minority settling voluntarily in a country itself chooses spontaneously the foreign rule to which it is subjected. The national minorities conquered by force of arms are on the other hand compelled willy-nilly to continue to live under a foreign rule. This is what has been done with the Magyar minority cut off from the mother country and compelled to continue to live as nationals of Czecho-Slovakia, Yugoslavia and Rumania. In the first-named case the national minority knows in advance the consequences involved by its decision. On the other hand a national minority cut off by force has no means of choosing any other alternative. However, the Hungarian State at all times displayed the utmost goodwill in its treatment also of immigrants of other races entering the country of their own free will. The groups of non-Magars settled in the country, as well as those entering Hungary as refugees, have always found a true home here, where the influence of Hungarian culture has helped their own culture to develop and thrive.*

This is the „existing state of things“ which the covering letter of M. Millerand declares to have been „found unjust“.

5.

(The Hungarian nation was never guilty of oppressing the non-Magyar nationalities living in Hungary.)

Consequently, historical right is without doubt on the side of Hungary. Now let us examine the second principal argument, — the assertion that Hungary had oppressed



Nicholas de Horthy, Regent of Hungary. — Painting by Philip de László. — By permission of the Fine Arts Society.

the non-Magyar nationals living in Hungarian territory. It was for the liberation of these oppressed nationals that the map of Central Europe had to be re-adjusted

This charge need not be taken seriously. — if only because pre-War Hungary would have been unable to oppress the racial minorities even if she had desired to do so. For the Vienna Government had for centuries been at daggers drawn with the Hungarian nation; and the chief element of the tactics adopted by the Vienna cabal in the attempt to break the determination of the Hungarians to cling to their Constitution was *the inciting of the non-Magyar nationalities living in Hungary against the Hungarian nation*. During the years immediately preceding the Great War the Hungarian nation was engaged in a protracted political struggle to enforce the adoption for use in the regiments recruited in Hungary of the Hungarian language in place of the German official language of Austria. In this struggle the Hungarian nation had to knuckle under. *Is it conceivable that a nation which failed to overcome the opposition of the Vienna Government and to enforce the use of its national language in its own army, should on the other hand be strong enough to oppress the nationalities which enjoyed the special favour of that Government?*

However, Hungary never had the slightest wish to oppress its non-Magyar nationalities. *During the whole course of its history the Magyar race has been characterised by tolerance towards strangers*. Otherwise it would not have allowed the masses of strangers fleeing from the onset of Tartar and Turk to enter its territories nor would it have welcomed them so hospitably or assisted them to build up a national culture of their own on Hungarian soil. Had the Hungarian nation oppressed the non-Magyar nationalities, *the latter would have been unable to preserve their own national tongues and their racial peculiarities for so many centuries*. In that case it would be out of the question to find Slovak, Swabian and Serbian villages in the immediate vicinity of Budapest such as we see today: while the French colonists who entered Hungary 200 years ago would have become Magyars and not Swabians as is the case with the inhabitants of the villages of Saint Hubert and Merci-falva, which have preserved their original French names.

In pre-War Hungary the members of the Greek Orthodox and Greek Catholic Churches were permitted to organise separate Serbian, Rumanian and Ruthenian communities. *These communities — which enjoyed complete autonomy and had autonomous*

control of all the various kinds of schools maintained by them — were veritable strongholds of national self-consciousness. The following case will explain the power represented by these communities and show how easily they could defy the dominant race of alleged „oppressors“ — in Hungary in pre-War days there were 300.000 Greek Catholics who were pure Magyars by race and tongue. Their priests said mass in Rumanian or *Ruthenian*, not a word of the service being intelligible to the good Hungarians. *At the congress of 52 Hungarian communities held at Hajdudorog in 1868 a movement was started for the purpose of obtaining permission to use Hungarian as the language of the liturgy. It was not until 1912 that this perfectly natural wish of the 300.000 Magyars was realised. Another proof of „Hungarian oppression“, is it not? In the Hungarian State of pre-War days there were no restrictions whatsoever on the right of non-Magyar nationalities to maintain schools of their own; indeed, the Hungarian State actually undertook to provide a part of the charges involved by the stipends of the priests functioning in the nationality Churches and by the salaries of the teachers employed in the schools maintained by those Churches*. The action initiated by the Hungarian Government for the encouragement of home industry gave the Slovaks of the Highlands opportunities to earn a living; and the Ruthenian action connected with the name of Mr. Egan endeavoured to provide the Ruthenian people with means of subsistence. The Hungarian Government distributed land and money among the Ruthenians, provided them with live stock, organised a loan action for their benefit, made arrangements for the agricultural schooling of the people, and created opportunities to enable the Ruthenian people to obtain fresh means of earning a living by cottage industry. Every year 10,000 Ruthenian labourers were employed on the State model farm at Mezöhegyes. *The number of Ruthenians earning a living in State employ was exactly 99,522; and in view of the fact that at that time the total number of persons living in Hungary who were Ruthenians by tongue was 464,270, this means that the Hungarian State provided the vast majority of the Ruthenians of a working age with opportunities of employment and with the means of earning a living*. In the days of the Hungarian régime the nationalities cut off from Hungary by the Peace Treaty thrived in economic respects too; indeed, *their banks — by acquiring the estates of Hungarians and parcelling the same out in lots — instituted a veritable system of colonisation threatening*

the Magyar race in its own country. And actions of the kind did have a serious effect: very many villages which had previously been Magyar were swamped by the waves of the nationality ocean seething around them, — while the Hungarian State, that infamous „oppressor of the nationalities“, was powerless to interfere.

6.

(The official organ of M. Maniu, former Prime Minister of Rumania, shows that the Rumanians of Hungary were not „slaves“.)

All these data prove that the non-Magyar nationalities living in Hungary enjoyed equal treatment — not only in law, but also in fact — with the Magyars.

These words are not ours only; they express the conviction of the Rumanians too. — when among themselves: for they still persist in treating foreign countries to the legend about the oppression exercised by the Hungarians. Not very long ago General Avarescu protested vehemently against the efforts being made by the Rumanians of Transylvania to obtain the hegemony of the public life of Rumania. „I would ask“ he said in one of his statements, „whether you have ever heard of the liberated governing their liberators? Would the Alsatians presume to make laws for the whole of France?“

In reply to this attack, in an article published in August, 1930, the „*Dreptatea*“ the official organ of M. Maniu, then Prime Minister of Rumania, asked „*whether the Transylvanians had really been the subject slaves they were alleged to have been?*“ And the answer it gave was as follows: — „*Despite the severity of the rule of the Hungarians the Rumanians of Transylvania took an active part in the political life of Hungary, and were able — poor peasants and educated intellectuals alike — to preserve their Rumanian national character. The Hungarian Government did not prevent the Rumanians of Transylvania combining into economic or political organisations and taking an active part in public life. In cultural respects too the Rumanians of Transylvania were enabled to keep pace with the progress of civilisation. The small proportion of illiterates, the wealth of the Rumanian villages in Transylvania and the Banate, the cleanliness of the peasants' houses, and the kindly and courteous manners of the bourgeoisie. — all these things serve to prove that the culture of the liberated was of a high standard. Can we regard as slaves the numerous*

Rumanian intellectuals of Transylvania who as members of a foreign State were able to speak and write on behalf of the interests of the Rumanian nation?“

This evidence given by Rumanians is worth pages of Hungarian arguments. *The Magyar minorities would be happy to be able to give similar evidence of the treatment meted out to them in the Succession States.*

Yet probably an even more decisive proof is the fact that Hungary — as we shall explain later — herself asked for a plebiscite during the peace negotiations, thus voluntarily renouncing those territories the inhabitants of which were dissatisfied with the old method of government and desired to separate from the mother country with a history of a thousand years. *This means that the Hungarian nation chose to act as judges in this question the national minorities immediately concerned. However, the reputed liberators bluntly refused to agree to a plebiscite, thereby admitting that they themselves did not take seriously the charges which they had brought against the Magyars of oppressing the non-Magyar nationalities.*

7.

(The re-adjustment of the map of Central Europe has made things worse than they were.)

From what has been said it is evident that the pre-War nationality policy of Hungary was not such as to justify the dismemberment of the country. *However, the re-adjustment — in addition to tearing to pieces without any serious justification a unit which had been in existence for a thousand years — has created a situation which even from the nationality point of view is far worse than that existing previously.* Later on we shall make an exhaustive investigation of the new ethnographical conditions brought into being in Central Europe by the Treaty of Trianon. In the present connection it will suffice to point to the fact that the new frontiers have made deep incisions in the body of the Magyar people; the new States are characterised by an absolute jumble of diverse nationalities: while the Serbians and the Czechs are actually minorities in parts of their own countries. *In Yugoslavia the Serbians represent 40%, in Rumania the Rumanians represent.* The effect of this situation is a peculiarly sensible one in view of the fact that *the chauvinistic intolerance of the Succession States finds expression in a distressing oppression and persecution of the racial minorities left at their mercy.*



Mussolini, the Creator of Modern Italy, who has written his name indelibly on the soul of the grateful Hungarian nation by being the first of the representatives of the Great Powers to make an official declaration in favour of a revision of the Treaty of Trianon. On his left side the Duce is wearing the First Class Hungarian Order of Merit, and on his breast the medals won by him in the field of battle, including the wounded medal, the double stripe shown on the ribbon denoting that Mussolini was twice wounded in the firing line. These latter distinctions, obtained while he was still a private, are the Duce's favourites. — Oil Painting by Gyula Merész.



Lord Rothermere, the great friend of Hungary who was the first to call the attention of the public opinion of the world to the injustice of the Treaty of Trianon, and is still fighting strenuously and untiringly for the revision of that Treaty. — Oil painting by Philip de László.

IV.

TRIANON AN INSULT TO THE PRINCIPLE OF SELF-DETERMINATION.

1.

(In Paris the Hungarian Peace Delegation demanded a plebiscite; but the demand was refused owing to a fear that the people condemned to be cut off from Hungary would decide in favour of the State to which they had originally belonged.)

Do you still remember President Wilson's Fourteen Points? Maybe you have forgotten them. We are sorry to say that we have a very vivid recollection of them. For they too were used to cajole us

During the closing months of the Great War Wilson announced that *„peoples and provinces could not be transferred from the sovereignty of one State to that of another like lifeless objects or stones used in playing a game“*.

But by the time the Hungarian Peace Delegation arrived in Paris, people had ceased to talk of Wilson and of the right of self-determination. Only the Hungarian Peace Delegation had not forgotten: and after being handed the impossible conditions of peace, that Delegation *could not content themselves with a mere protest against the destruction of the frontiers which had stood intact for a thousand years: they demanded that the inhabitants of the territories condemned to separation should be asked to declare by a plebiscite whether they desired to be allotted to the neighbouring States?* The Slovaks, the victims of an alleged „oppression“, should be asked whether they wished to be absorbed by the Czechs? The Ruthenians — who had been the loyal soldiers of Rákóczi too — should be asked whether they desired to be wrested from the sovereignty of Hungary? The Serbians of Hungary and the Rumanians of Transylvania should be asked whether they considered it their interest to be united with their racial brethren living in a Balkan atmosphere? The Croats should be asked whether they wished to put an end to that political union in which they had lived with the Hungarians in the most perfect harmony for eight hundred years?

Surely that would have been the only procedure justified alike by moral considerations and the dictates of common sense? The Peace Delegates of the Allied and Associated Powers however rejected the suggestion, to the eternal shame of morality and common sense alike. Why did they do so? In answer we would cite an official and a non-official statement made in justification of this rejection. The official statement — contained in the letter of M. Millerand already referred to — runs as follows: „It is true that the Hungarian Peace Delegation pleads that the conditions of peace did not provide for the holding of a plebiscite any-

where. The reason why the Allied and Associated Powers regarded it as superfluous to have recourse to this method of consulting the wishes of the people was because they were convinced that in the event of the plebiscite being held under conditions ensuring a sincere expression of opinion the result would not differ to any important extent from the conclusion at which the Powers had arrived after a thorough investigation of the ethnographic conditions and national ambitions of Central Europe“. A mere cursory perusal shows clearly the absurdity of this argument. We would therefore ask what was the real reason which made the Powers shrink from holding a plebiscite? The answer is given — with a sincerity quite unusual with diplomats — by André Tardieu, Member of the most important Commissions responsible for preparing the material for drafting the Treaties of Peace, who in his book *„La paix“* (the preface to which was written by Clémenceau) tells us that he and his fellows *„had to choose between a plebiscite and the creation of Czecho-Slovakia“*. So this was the real reason; as contrasted with the plea of Millerand, Tardieu admits that a plebiscite would have produced results materially different from those comprised in the Treaty of Trianon.

Now Tardieu's statement is confirmed by Milan Ivánka, the Slovak politician who threw in his lot with the Czech cause, who according to Jehlitchka declared that *„it was impossible to grant the Slovaks autonomy, if only because the independent Slovak Parliament would have embraced the first opportunity offering to vote for a re-union with Hungary“*.

Tardieu and Milan Ivánka's words apply to the Slovaks only. However, in the event of a plebiscite or any other free expression of the popular will the other national minorities of pre-War Hungary would declare with a similar loyalty in favour of a maintenance of the former political union.

2.

(The only Hungarian territory in which — in terms of a special agreement concluded after the Treaty of Peace had come into force — a plebiscite was held, decided in favour of Hungary.)

What would have happened if a plebiscite had been ordained? We believe the answer to this question was given — on behalf of the other parts of the country which had been cut off too — by the tiny strip of territory in which in the end the question of allegiance was after all decided by a plebiscite. For the purpose of definitively deciding by

peaceful means the fate of that part of Western Hungary which had been allotted to Austria, the Hungarian Government made an agreement with the Vienna Government to the effect that a popular suffrage should decide the question of the possession of Sopron and environs, a small part of the territory adjudged to Austria by the treaty-makers.

It should be noted by the way that this plebiscite at Sopron cannot be compared in any respect at all with the plebiscites held in Silesia for instance for the purpose of adjusting the German-Polish frontier. The plebiscite in Silesia was a stipulation of the Treaty of Peace, whereas the Sopron plebiscite was based on the Venice agreement concluded, through the mediation of the Italian Government, in the autumn of 1921, long after the conclusion of the Treaty. In Silesia the fate was decided of important territories and whole provinces; whereas in the case of the Sopron plebiscite only the inhabitants of the town itself and of two villages were invited to give their suffrage. Consequently the Sopron plebiscite was in no respect at all an amendment of the general refusal comprised in the Treaty of Trianon to comply with the wish expressed by the Hungarian Government that a plebiscite should be ordained;

that Treaty having settled the fate of the Hungarian nationals condemned to separation from their native land without consulting the wishes of the people concerned.

All these facts do not however suffice to prejudice the importance of the desire to belong to the Hungarian State having achieved a brilliant victory at the Sopron plebiscite. Since that period Sopron has borne the title in Hungary of „civitas fidelissima“ — the most loyal of all Hungarian towns. We are firmly convinced that the inhabitants of the other parts of the country too, including Slovaks, Germans, Rumanians, Serbians, Croatsians, would have expressed exactly the same opinion as the inhabitants of Sopron. Not to speak of those 3,424,000 Magyars who have been compelled to exchange their Hungarian nationality for that of a foreign State inimically disposed towards them. We would ask whether the statement contained in M. Millerand's covering letter — to the effect that „in the event of the plebiscite being held under conditions ensuring a sincere expression of opinion the result would not have been different from that arrived at by the Supreme Council without consulting their wishes“ — referred to these 3,424,000 Magyars too?

V.

GEOGRAPHICAL AND CULTURAL OBJECTIONS TO TRIANON.

1.

(The Treaty split up a perfect geographical unit.)

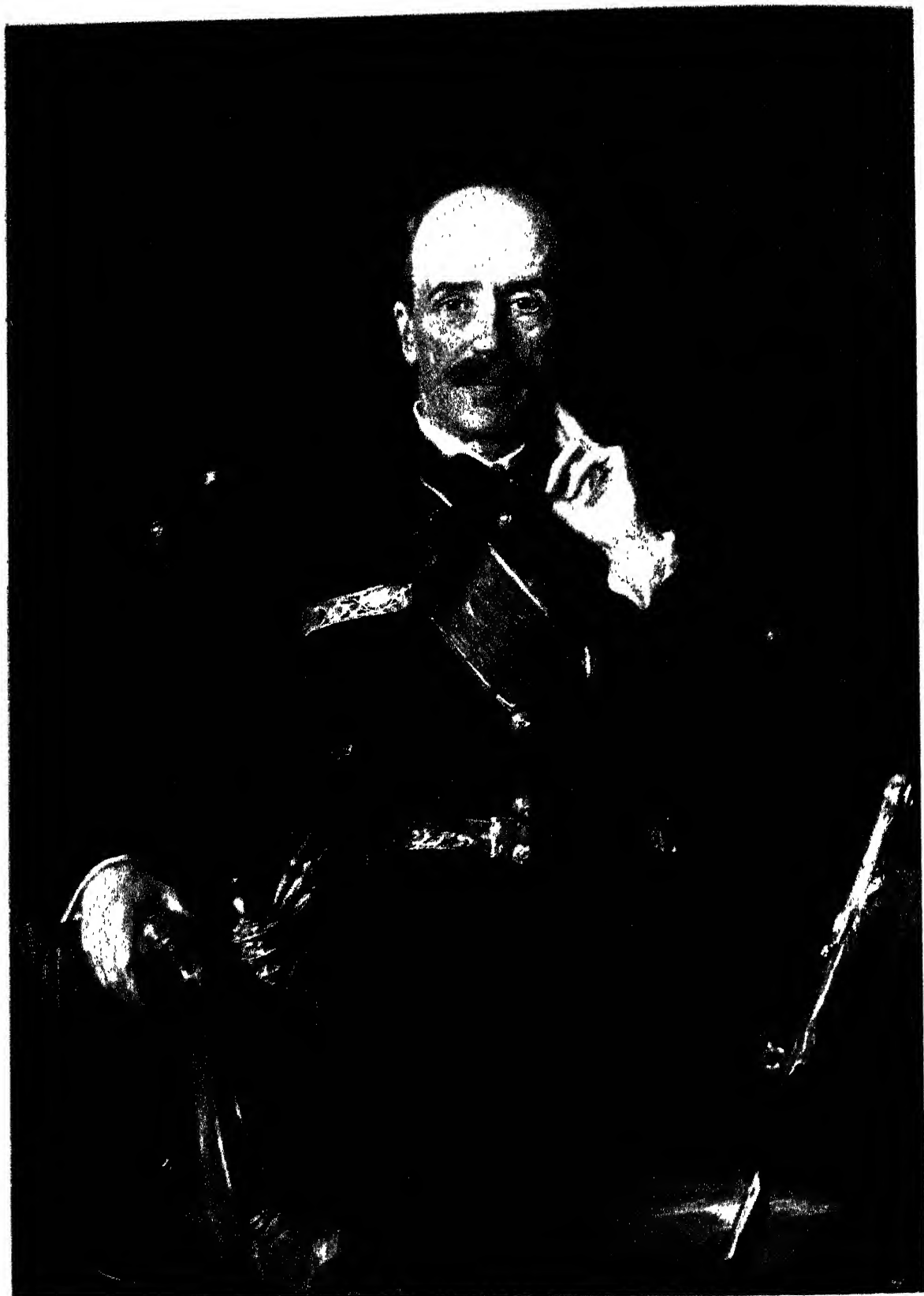
As we have seen, the partition of Hungary cannot be justified either on historical grounds or on the basis of the nationality conditions or of the principle of self-determination. So perhaps there are other arguments making comprehensible and reasonable all the injustice against Hungary perpetrated by the Treaty of Trianon? Maybe geographical considerations motivated the disintegration of the unit which had remained intact for over a thousand years? Prior to the Great War Hungary was the most perfect geographical unit in existence; a unit of which Réclus, the great French geographer, had said — „This country is a country by birth“. And history has proved the truth of this thesis. For Nature too has its own absolute laws. The high wreath of the Carpathians forms a natural semi-circular boundary completed by the line of mighty rivers at its lower extremity. The existence of a territory forming so perfect and self-contained a unit is itself a compelling factor in shaping political developments. During the course of history there have been many changes in the territory of Hungary; but these changes have always been transitory and provisional. Though it

has never previously been so small as the Dismembered Hungary of today, it has more than once shrunk to points well within the natural frontiers referred to above. At other times it has expanded far beyond the closed semi-circle. There was a time when four seas washed the shores of Hungary. But neither the reduced nor the expanded Hungary remained as a permanency; for such a thing was impossible. The frontier of the country has at all times been subject to the controlling force of the ring of the Carpathians and the line of the great rivers rolling in the South. And we have no doubt that the future too will prove that nature has eternal laws of its own against the logic of which it is impossible to contend.

2.

(The dismemberment of Hungary was a great blow to European culture.)

Or is it perhaps claimed that the destruction of pre-War Hungary was in the interests of general culture? — that the districts cut off from the mother country have been annexed by countries so highly developed as to ensure the inhabitants deprived of their Hungarian nationality a higher standard of culture? The very opposite is the truth.



Count Stephen Bethlen, Prime Minister of Hungary since 1921. His powerful political personality is acknowledged even by our foreign enemies. — Oil painting by Philip de László.

A third of Hungary with a high percentage of literacy was annexed to Rumania, which is rank with illiteracy. The southern districts of Hungary were surrendered to the Serbs, a people with a Balkan standard of culture similar to that of the Rumanians. Even the cultural standard of the Highlands has suffered by that part of the country being cut off from the mother country and annexed to the highly civilised State governed by the Czechs; for the latter are anxious to foist their own culture on this territory, and for that purpose are using every effort to suppress the ancient culture of the districts which they have absorbed. *That the dismemberment of Hungary is not a gain, but a loss, to the general culture of Europe, is proved also by the wellknown fact that the number of illiterates in both Rumania and Serbia proper is far larger than that in the territories which have been annexed to these countries.*

That the dismemberment of Hungary has led to a decline -- and not to an advance -- of culture in the territories cut off from the mother country, is borne out by the testimony of persons of international repute who may be regarded as impartial and unbiassed judges. In a speech delivered on March 30th., 1920, Lord Newton, the eminent Member of the British House of Lords, proved by evidence beyond dispute that *the Treaty of Trianon was deporting 12,000,000 human beings and transferring them from a higher to a lower culture. In the same place, and on the same occasion, Viscount Bryce said that by this Treaty civilised towns with a high standard of culture were being surrendered as victims to a mass of illiterate and inferior men.* And one of the American Commissions visiting Transylvania reported to its

Government *that in that province two million persons of Western culture had been sacrificed to half-Asiatic manners.* This is what the Treaty of Trianon means to the culture of humanity.

The gentlemen however who drafted the Treaty of Trianon with the blood and tears of the Hungarian people *were undisturbed by these considerations*; indeed, some of them even hoped that in its misery and distress Dismembered Hungary might prove unable to preserve its original standard of culture. Berthelot, French Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, made no secret of his conviction to that effect; for immediately after the signature of the Treaty he told one of the Hungarian Delegates that *„Hungary would not be ruined by the Treaty of Trianon. The worst that was likely to happen was that the country would prove unable to maintain its former culture; it would become the home of a small shepherd folk placing its produce at cheap prices at the disposal of the peoples of the neighbouring States.“*

But M. Berthelot was mistaken. The eleven years that have elapsed since the signature of the Treaty of Trianon have proved conclusively that despite the terrible privations to which the ruthlessness of the peace-dictators condemned us, we have been able successfully to resist the pressure that has been put upon us to become a mere colony of Czecho-Slovakia doomed to a declining standard of culture and condemned to be the purveyor of cheap produce. The record of these eleven years shows that *we have at the cost of sacrifices almost beyond our strength maintained and even developed the Hungarian culture which the gentlemen in Paris thought they had finally disposed of.*

VI.

TRIANON HAS DESTROYED THE ECONOMIC PROSPERITY ALIKE OF THE TERRITORIES LEFT IN THE HANDS OF HUNGARY AND OF THOSE WHICH HAVE BEEN CUT OFF FROM THE MOTHER COUNTRY.

1.

(The dismemberment of the economic unit formed by Hungary has created a disastrous situation in Central Europe.)

In foreign countries even well-disposed and well-meaning persons often argue as follows against the idea of justice for Hungary: — „Maybe the Treaty of Trianon has involved the Hungarian nation in a grave situation; maybe the conditions under which the Hungarians are living are far worse today than they were in pre-War days: but this Treaty has after all resulted ultimately in furthering the contentment and prosperity of many other peoples which prior to the War were subject to Hungarian rule. So it is not fair to

condemn the Treaty of Trianon on this score, seeing that provisions of the kind should not be rejected or accepted except after all the advantages and disadvantages of the changes involved have been weighed in the balance“.

Hence the following question naturally suggests itself, — has the dismemberment of pre-War Hungary succeeded in establishing an economic equilibrium better calculated to serve the interests of Europe generally and of the inhabitants of the territories concerned, than the old order?

The Hungarian Peace Delegation sent to Paris prophesied in advance that by tearing to pieces the former territory of Hungary the Treaty of Trianon would lead to a disastrous

situation bound to destroy the economic prosperity alike of Dismembered Hungary and of the regions cut off from the mother country. *The Hungary of pre-War days was a veritable Canaan, the various parts of which balanced and supplemented one another in respect of supply and demand.* The hilly country lying at the foot of the Carpathians and Transylvania were rich in forest-land and mines, supplying the Lowlands with wood and timber, salt and ores of all kinds. The flat districts in the centre of the country on the other hand, supplied the hilly regions with corn and all kinds of agrarian produce. The tearing asunder of two such interdependent territories was bound to result in economic chaos and want.

The pleas of the Hungarian Peace Delegation here too fell on deaf ears. However, the ten years that have passed since the making of the Treaty of Trianon have witnessed the realisation of the most pessimistic prophesies:

The artificial rending asunder of districts which had for centuries been interdependent has converted both the hilly and the flat parts of the Hungary of old alike into areas suffering from economic paralysis and barely able to eke out a miserable existence.

Therefore, by dismembering Hungary the Treaty of Trianon has exercised a fatal influence, not only on the economic life of present-day Hungary, but also on the „liberated territories“. *The conquered have been allotted ruin in lieu of punishment; but the same fate has been meted out to the „liberated“ as a reward.*

Dr. Füllkrug, one of the most painstaking and worldfamous students of the natural history of suicides, has established the fact that *Dismembered Hungary stands at the head of the countries of Europe in respect of the proportion of suicides per million inhabitants.* The average proportion of suicides per year in Hungary is 260 per million inhabitants. In Germany that proportion is 250, in Austria 230, in Great Britain only 110, and in Spain only 40, while the proportion in Holland and Denmark is scarcely worth mentioning. So the countries which were vanquished in the War and have been crippled by the inhuman Peace Treaties head the list in this respect. And Hungary stands first among the vanquished countries. „No doubt“ — adds the eminent savant — „in the vanquished countries the national disaster too has contributed to increase the number of suicides“. *And the sad, wan host of suicides too offers evidence to prove that it is Hungary that has been treated with the most ruthless folly by the Treaties of Peace.*

In his statistics referred to above, Dr. Füllkrug has also ascertained that *the number of suicides in Czecho-Slovakia is not much less than in Hungary.* This need not

surprise us. For in the chapters next following we are going to show that the former Highlands of Hungary have suffered just as seriously — or, if possible, even more seriously — from the consequences of the separation than the parts of the country annexed to Rumania and Yugoslavia.

2.

(The Czechs have ruined the industry of Upper Hungary.)

To illustrate the havoc wrought in the economic life of the territories cut off from the mother country by the Treaty of Trianon we shall present a few characteristic statistical data in industrial respects. The Highlands now annexed to Czecho-Slovakia enjoyed special favours granted by the Hungarian Government; that territory which in pre-war days comprised 19% of the area of Hungary and 17% of the population was allotted 33.1% of the amount included in the Hungarian Budget under the head of promotion of industry, so that its participation in the respective State subsidies was far greater than the proportion legally due to it on the basis of the ratio of population or area. For the Hungarian Government was convinced that new opportunities of earning should be given to the poor Slovak inhabitants of a barren territory. And with this support the Highlands very soon became the home of a flourishing industry. However, this development ceased the moment the Highlands were cut off from the other parts of Hungary, where previously the industry of Slovakia had found a permanent market, and annexed to Bohemia, which in industrial respects had been one of the most highly developed sections of the former Dual Monarchy. What the Czech industry needed was new markets, not a new competitor. That was the reason why the inevitable happened and the systematic destruction of the industry of the Highlands forthwith began. We need not explain in detail the tariff measures and the shrewd taxation policy employed for the purpose by the Czech Government. The results of this policy of the Prague Government is reflected in the *1926 Annual of the manufacturers of the territory formerly known as Upper Hungary.* According to this *Annual* the number of hours of employment of the hands working in the 112 more important factories and mines of the Highlands in 1926 was only 63,000,000 — as against 100,000,000 in 1914. Consequently, the opportunities of earning under the Czech régime show a decline of 37%; indeed, in the case of the iron ore mine the decrease is one of 40%. And the consequences? These are shown by the emigration statistics. Whereas in the five years (1909–1913) immediately preceding the Great War only 62,000 persons left this territory for America, dur-

ing the five years of Czech rule between 1922 and 1926 no fewer than 96,000 persons emigrated from the country. *85% of the emigrants are Slovaks; a fact which hardly seems to prove that the „liberated“ Slovaks are particularly appreciative of the benefits of Czech rule.* The emigration of the Slovaks, however, due to their inability to earn a subsistence in their own country has been accompanied by a simultaneous immigration of Czechs, who appear to get along very well, the majority being employees of the State. *The inhabitants of the Highlands have for some years past been making a futile attempt to enforce the principle that the allotment of posts in the public services should be made in proportion to the population ratios of the several races.* The Czechs are actually endeavouring to upset the existing ratios. *Quite recently, on November 28th, 1930, the Slovak National Party complained that the public employees being dismissed from service in the Highlands under the pretext of economy are all without exception Slovaks, not a single Czech being included even by accident.*

By systematic molestation the Czech authorities have ruined the Hungarian merchants and tradesmen, whose places have been filled at once by settlers from Bohemia. The Czechs have endeavoured to invent whole series of imposts and taxes intended primarily for the purpose of being imposed on Hungarians. And in this field the other two Succession States — Rumania and Yugoslavia — have been very successful in imitating the example of Czecho-Slovakia.

3.

(Trianon causes distress in the territories allotted to Yugoslavia and Rumania.)

The most surprising audacity experienced in respect of an intentional and unjust increase of the taxes imposed on Hungarians is that displayed by Yugoslavia, where *so far no attempt has been made to provide for a unification of the taxation systems of the countries amalgamated by absorption.*

In Yugoslavia, Old Serbia, Montenegro and Macedonia together comprise some 36% of the total population of that country. According to the official data contained in the 1927 Report of the Association of the Banate Banks, *this section of the population (36%) down to 1927 contributed only 23% in direct taxes towards the public revenue. The Banate, on the other hand, with a population representing only 11.5% of the total population of the country, contributed 25.5%.*

That is not all, however. Let us look at the other side of the picture and ask what return the Serbian State has made to the Banate which is so excessively over-taxed, in the form of public expenditure and invest-

ments? We shall find that of the expenditure of the Public Health Department, for instance, 65% was spent in that part of the country (Serbia, Montenegro and Macedonia) which provides only 23% of the public revenue. Still greater is the injustice shown by the ratios of expenditure of the several provinces under the head of public education. *The share of Old Serbia under this head is actually 82.5%, while the public education of the Banate has been receiving the ridiculously trifling proportion of 3%, the result being that in this territory — which once possessed a high standard of culture — the bulk of the schools have had to be closed, seeing that in Yugoslavia only the State may maintain schools, private persons and denominations not being allowed to do so even at their own expense.*

Such a system must end in utter economic ruin. We refer to only a single datum in illustration of the economic ruin that has ensued here:

According to the 1928 report of the Vajdaság Workers Chamber, the industry of that region had by that time declined during the brief period of Serbian rule (barely 8 years) to the state of things in force 30 years before. The economic set-back had naturally been followed by an increase of unemployment. According to the said report of the Workers Chamber, in the Vajdaság in 1927 there were 52,000 agricultural labourers and 13,500 industrial workers out of work; that meaning that for every 10,000 inhabitants there were 478 unemployed. We shall be able to appreciate the full meaning of these figures when we take into account the fact that even in 1923 the proportion of unemployed in Europe generally was not more than 286 to every 10,000 inhabitants.

Nor is the situation any better in the territories annexed to Rumania. The inhabitants of those territories, irrespective of their nationality, are feeling to the full the grave effects of their being wrenched bodily from an economic union in existence for over a thousand years and placed under an administration of a Balkan standard of corruption, to share an economic system of a far less advanced character. The principal branch of production of these territories is agriculture. One of the infallible tests of the prosperity of agrarian production is the number of animals kept by the farmers. The situation of cattle-breeding is peculiarly illustrative of the economic conditions in Transylvania; for in this mountainous province the principal form of agrarian occupation, even during the days of Hungarian rule, was cattle-breeding. Now, according to the most recent Rumanian statistics, in the territories cut off from Hungary the number of horned cattle has decreased during the period of Rumanian rule by 24%, that of pigs by 43%.

and that of horses by 43%. But the ten years of Rumanian rule have ruined also the once thriving ore-mining industry of Transylvania. In a few years the population of the Verespatak and Brád gold mining district — which during the Hungarian regime was famous all over Europe — has dwindled to one half of its original number. The hundreds of uninhabited houses and dilapidated gold-refining establishments speak eloquently of the destruction wrought in a short time in Transylvania — a province belonging in respect of culture to the West — by the rule of the Balkan Rumanians. These are data proving better than any other evidence the unfavourable character and deterioration of the economic situation in the territories cut off from the mother country.

4.

(The Treaty of Trianon has created economic chaos in Central Europe.)

We could produce a whole series of data to prove that the Treaty of Trianon has resulted in an economic decline alike in the territories left in Hungarian hands and in those cut off from the mother country. We will not however continue the enumeration of these data, preferring to inquire into *the effect exercised by the dismemberment of Hungary on international economic conditions and on the grave economic crisis under which the whole of Europe is suffering today?*

Prior to the breaking up of the unit formed by Hungary, the corn-growing Lowlands and the mountainous districts rich in mines and forests supplemented one another economically in a most advantageous manner. The Slovaks of the Highlands went every year down to the Lowlands, where a few weeks harvest work provided them with all the wheat and flour they required for the rest of the year. The itinerant glaziers and tinkers seen everywhere in the country were all without exception Slovaks. The Ruthenians living in the north-eastern Carpathians brought their rafts of timber down stream as far as Szeged. And the Slovak rafters living on the shores of the Vág were seen every year at Budapest and also on the lower reaches of the Danube. On the other hand, the Magyar inhabitants of the Lowlands when in need of work went north in search of employment to the forests and mines of the Highlands.

The policy pursued by the Succession States towards the Hungary from which they have received such large areas of territory is that of *a jealous isolation*; and that despite the fact that it is their evident interest economically to do just the opposite. However, in the Succession States political considerations are of more importance than economic interests of whatever kind. *For these States*

are fully conscious that the economic and social powers, which during a union of over a thousand years combined into united State the several peoples living in the Danube basin within the ring formed by the Carpathians, are still at work; they are fully conscious that these forces are operating against them, against their whole political conception and against the artificial State formations which they „scalped“ arbitrarily on the map of Europe. The Great Hungarian Lowlands still serve as a centre of attraction to the hilly districts which flank them. The Slovak and Ruthenian territories still gravitate towards the Hungarian plain and not towards Prague. The economic centre of gravity of Transylvania is still Budapest; and the same might be said also of the territories which have been annexed to Yugoslavia. What the Succession States are afraid of is that in the event of closer economic relations all these gravitative forces will come into play to an enhanced degree, and that there will be a revival of those connections established by history and existing without interruption for a thousand years which are fundamentally opposed to the new economic and political adjustment of Central Europe. They are afraid that in the event of a greater freedom of trade there will be a revival on an increased scale of the personal intercourse between the inhabitants of the Hungary of today and those of the territories cut off from the mother country; and that this intercourse will be accompanied by an exchange of ideas. They fear that there will be a revived cementing of those ties which even the most rigorous passport policy has failed to sever. The Succession States expect that by knitting fast the main economic arteries they will succeed in making the territories wrested from Hungary and the inhabitants incorporated against their will in reality — and not merely on the re-drafted map — turn their backs on their mother country. This spirit has driven Czecho-Slovakia to aggravate her policy of isolation. It has driven the Czech politicians at home to enhance the spirit of extreme agrarianism. The extreme agrarianism thus enhanced has become an active element of decisive importance in the country as a result of the settlement of hundreds of thousands of Czech legionaries on the estates sequestered from their Hungarian owners. For this group of men, in order to protect their own land, have insisted on the enforcement of an extreme agrarian isolation.

5.

(A maintenance of the policy of isolation precludes the possibility of establishing a new order in Central Europe.)

The Western Powers have already realised that the terrible economic crisis at present shaking to its foundations the order of the

world which is closely connected with the dismemberment of the former extensive economic units, *cannot be mitigated except by a closer economic co-operation of all nations alike*, and that such a co-operation must eventually lead to the establishment of the United States of Europe. *And the Hungary of today would be quite prepared to co-operate in this direction with the rest of Europe. But now can she initiate closer economic relations when she finds customs barriers on all sides obstructing the passage of her exports? The vivisection of Hungary by the Treaty of Trianon has resulted in replacing the old order of Europe by economic chaos; and even today that Treaty stands in the way of a rational adjustment.* It is not true that Hungary is the only Danube State which by refusing to acquiesce in the provisions of Trianon is responsible for the spirit of unrest and uncertainty prevailing in the valley of the Danube.

We find the same unrest and uncertainty also in those Succession States which — however advantageous the new order may have seemed to them on paper — have been condemned by Trianon to suffer a similar decline in place of the development which they had been led to expect.

Let us investigate the case of Czecho-Slovakia, for instance; of that Succession State whose situation is relatively speaking the best. If the Highlands — that region encircled by the Carpathians which combined with Hungary proper to form a natural geographical unit — had not been taken from us, and Bohemia had been given her independence in her original shape and with her original frontiers, Czecho-Slovakia would have been able to take her place in Central Europe under far sounder economic conditions. *As a State possessing a powerful industry, it would from the very first moment have felt the necessity of a rapprochement with all the Succession States, primarily with Hungary. In this case, the spirit of isolation would have been replaced by a conciliatory attitude as the guiding force of Czech policy; and the valley of the Danube would not be cursed with the economic chaos brought into being there by M. Benesch's economic imperialism and threatening to involve the whole of Europe.*

However, seeing that Bohemia — like all the other Succession States — was made to face an unsolvable problem when she was allotted extensive slices of Hungarian territory by a Treaty of Peace that failed to take into account the economic factors of the valley of the Danube, Prague thinks otherwise. *Instead of resorting to an economic rapprochement, the Czechs are pursuing a policy of economic isolation the consequences of which are being felt by their own country too.* The Chinese wall erected round Czecho-

Slovakia for political reasons is stifling that country's economic life. An interesting proof of this is what happened in Czecho-Slovakia in March, when the first news of the proposed German-Austrian customs union leaked out. *Almost immediately the most important Czech industrial organisations declared in favour of joining any German-Austrian customs union that might be established, thereby coming into conflict, not only with the Little Entente policy of M. Benesch, but also with that France to which Czecho-Slovakia owes her very existence.* This means that the industry of Bohemia, which played a dominant role in the former Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, feels that it would very soon fall a prey to the Czech policy of isolation, and — in the hope that by joining any eventual German-Austrian customs union it would be able to recover the markets it has lost — is prepared without reserve to adhere to a combination which would at a blow transform the situation in Central Europe to the disadvantage of the former Allies, and more particularly of France. This procedure is not particularly suggestive of gratitude; but it is logical. And this spirit of unrest, uncertainty and anarchy is in evidence also in the two other Succession States, in Rumania and Yugoslavia. The chaos produced by Trianon is wearing them out too. And there is no remedy available with conditions as they are. *There is only one possible means of restoring order in the valley of the Danube, — to permit the re-union of those sections of territory which the iron force of economic necessity has made interdependent.*

6.

(The chaos in Central Europe is paving the way for Bolshevism to penetrate to the heart of Europe.)

The absolutely mistaken policy in respect of the adjustment of the Danube riparian territories is however preparing the way for other serious consequences. We must not forget that the territories in question are situated in the vicinity of Russia, — the most critical part of Europe today, — and so lie in the path of that advance of Bolshevism which must sooner or later ensue.

Prior to the Great War the danger menacing Europe from the East was the advance of pan-Slavism. That danger was however felt primarily by the neighbouring States only — by Austria-Hungary and Germany. Those countries which were farther removed from the danger were not only reconciled to the same, but actually made an alliance with its champions. France, for instance, in order to hold Germany in the balance endeavoured to make use of Russia. Great Britain too joined the Franco-Russian alliance when

she thought that the advance in the power of Germany involved a greater danger to her interests than that which threatened India from the side of Russia. As a result, the interests of Europe were divided in respect of pan-Slavism. Today, however, Russia represents, not the former pan-Slav ambitions, but that Bolshevism which means death to the bourgeois classes and to civilisation. In respect of this danger the interests of all European countries alike are identical. *The only division of Europe conceivable today is Russia alone on one side, with the whole of the rest of Europe on the other*

7.

(The only means of defence against Bolshevism is to create real peace in the valley of the Middle Danube.)

The capitalist States have been guilty of the foolish mistake of joining the ranks of Russia's customers, for the sake of an ephemeral profit. It is the capitalist States that are supplying the machines with the aid of which Russia will be enabled to carry out the familiar five-years scheme announced by her politicians. It is capitalist credits, consignments of materials and experts originating from capitalist States, that are facilitating the Russian dumping scheme, which threatens to paralyse the production of the whole world by forcing prices down to a level not even covering the mere cost of production. The stupidity of the capitalist States actually extends to the supply of arms to Russia to be employed against — themselves! And the Moscow Government takes full advantage of this mistake. First of all it employs its dumping campaign to undermine the conditions of life in the countries enforcing the principle of private ownership; and then — the moment the distress and unemployment prevailing in the capitalist countries becomes intolerable — *it will open its great campaign against the capitalist system of the world and fulfil the promises being persistently made to its adherents.* It will have very little difficulty in doing so, seeing that after the carrying into effect of its five-years scheme it will be in possession of the means and equipment required for the technical achievements inevitable in modern warfare.

The policy pursued in the Middle Danube basin is indeed preparing the way for the great Bolshevik offensive. As we have pointed out already, in the respective territories the effects of Trianon are withering and wasting the roots of the economic life of victors and vanquished alike. The economic chaos afflicting Central Europe is being accompanied by the destitution of hundreds of thousands of people accustomed to enjoy independence. This fact would involve a danger to Europe generally even if the territories thus ruined

by artificial means were not the immediate neighbours of Russia. But they are; and indications are not wanting that Russia reckons upon being able by secret agitation to undermine the power of the Danube riparian States. It is the agrarian production of Rumania, Yugoslavia and Hungary that is most severely hit by the corn-dumping scheme of Russia. As is well known, the Bolshevik agitation in Rumania is being carried on with a fair amount of success. As far as Czecho-Slovakia is concerned, everyone knows that Germany is the only other State in Europe whose parliament contains more Communists. In addition to the pressure of the economic chaos, there are other reasons why Rumania, Czecho-Slovakia and Yugoslavia have developed into impotent State formations: such as their geographical shape, their distribution among the several nationalities, and also the discontent of the peoples subjected to their rule by the Powers, — which latter is so strong in Yugoslavia, for instance, that the Serb imperialists are compelled to resort to a dictatorship to maintain order. In the Middle and Lower Danube valleys today *Hungary is the only State which is entirely immune from the consequences of Bolshevik agitation.* The Hungarian people has had a taste of the curse of Bolshevik rule; it knows what the Red Terror means; and consequently it is absolutely immune from any infection of the kind. But Hungary has been disarmed and confined in a dismembered state to the great plain, where there are no frontiers offering any serious strategic support. *Consequently, in her present state Hungary would be unable to throw any serious obstacles in the way of a Russian-Bolshevik advance.*

What would happen, then, if one fine day Russia were to open the great offensive she has threatened Europe with? Where is the power capable of checking and stemming the tide of Bolshevism when it begins to move? In pre-War days there were two breakwaters ready to keep in check the wave of Russian pan-Slavism — Germany and Austria-Hungary. The Germany disarmed by the Treaty of Versailles is no longer a military power; Austria's place is taken to some extent by Poland: but what is there to replace the Hungary which has been cut to pieces? As an ideal geographical unit surrounded by a protecting chain of mountains, the Hungary of pre-War days formed a splendid ring of strongholds that made her capable of holding in check the attacks coming from the East: but what country is there today able to carry on the mission devolving on the Hungary of pre-Trianon times? *It is evident that this mission cannot possibly be fulfilled by any of the Succession States, which are suffering*

from mortal diseases at home and are exposed to serious menace from without. The economic and political chaos brought into being by Trianon in the most dangerous spot in Europe precludes the possibility of any serious resistance in this quarter. There can be no question of any serious resistance in this part of Europe, unless a re-adjustment were made remedying all the blunders made in the Treaty of Trianon, — and unless reconciliation take the place of the hatred prevailing today, peace and quiet replacing the wasting unrest, and economic well-being the distress and want the gravity of which is becoming graver every day. The only serious obstacle to a Russian advance conceivable in Central Europe is a union of the Carpathian ridge with the united forces of the valley of the Danube. Should the Russian army obtain possession of Rumania proper, where would the Rumanian army be able to retire to? It is evident that it could not rely upon the valley of the Danube, — not only because it would there find a downtrodden and embittered Hungary in its rear, but much more because in the chaos ruling in the valley of the Danube the concentrated and pent-up discontent would at once burst forth and shatter to pieces all the forces of resistance. In the absence of an organised force depending on the ring of the Carpathians and threatening the flank of a Russian army marching south, Russia could advance unchecked towards Constantinople, the object of her age-long dreams, from where she could at any moment sever the main artery of Great Britain's power, the road leading to the former Turkish Capital. But an organised force able to rely upon the defence offered by the ring of the Carpathians is inconceivable except in the event of a reparation of the injustice perpetrated against Hungary in the valley of the Danube.

Hungary has shown that even in her present mutilated and disarmed condition she is only too ready at any moment to co-operate with the rest of Europe against the Bolshevik danger. In an article entitled „*La rôle de la Hongrie dans la guerre polono-bolshevik de 1920*“ published in the July number of the „*Revue Mondiale*“, Louis de Villat, Professor in the University of Besançon, writes as follows in this connection:

„In 1920 too, after she had been dismembered, Hungary showed the noblest unselfishness, friendship and fellowfeeling conceivable as being the duty of every civilised State when faced by the Bolshevik problem. During the fights with the Bolsheviks one of the greatest problems the Polish army had to contend with was the supply of war material. On the request of the Polish Government Hungary expressed a readiness to send to Poland all the military forces which she could dispense with. The Czech Government, however, categorically refused to allow the Hungarian troops to pass through its territory. Then the Hungarian Government collected all available war material, loading the same in several goods trains which it started on their way to Warsaw. (48,000,000 Mauser cartridges, 18,000,000 Manlicher cartridges, 240 kitchen wagons, 260 camp kitchens, 80 commissariat wagons, several millions of Manlicher locks and other parts of rifles.) The Czech Government held up these supplies at Kassa; but they were diverted to Rumanian territory and, passing safely through the same, finally arrived at the front on August 12th., 1920. The supplies were distributed in two days by the Polish military authorities; and three days later began the deciding battle fought on the banks of the Vistula which ended with a brilliant victory of the Polish army“.

VII.

NEVER, NEVER, NEVER! (NEM, NEM, SOHA!)

1.

(A legion of questions to which there is no answer.)

We have seen that the high-sounding arguments employed by Hungary's enemies in their endeavour to justify her dismemberment crumbled away at the first touch of investigation. From an ethnographical point of view the new frontiers have created a situation far worse and more unjust than that previously existing; history is on the side of Hungary; and the drafters of the Treaties of Peace themselves admit that, had they allowed the principle of self-deter-

mination to assert itself, they would never have been able to create Czecho-Slovakia. We for our part would add that it would have been equally impossible to create the other Succession States. The splitting up of the beautifully balanced economic unit formed by pre-War Hungary has given rise to troubles, worries and distress alike in Dismembered Hungary and in the territories cut off from the mother country. Trianon is condemned by the geographical forces which created the thousand years' unit, as also by the cultural interests which have been so seriously jeopardised by the partition of Hungary. Nor can the plea that Hungary,

was responsible for the outbreak of the Great War be any longer put forward against her. So, we would ask, why had the Treaty of Trianon to be drafted? Why was it necessary to dismember that ancient Hungary — with a thousand years' past — which in her former shape, and with the assistance of her ancient frontiers, had been so important a factor in the peaceful maintenance of the balance of power in Central Europe?

2.

(The Hungarian nation will never acquiesce in the Treaty of Trianon.)

These are all questions to which there is no answer acceptable to common sense. Now just try to imagine the state of mind of those twelve million Magyars cut off

from one another by the Treaty of Trianon. The Hungarians remaining within the frontiers of Dismembered Hungary and those who have been subjected to the oppression of hostile races have for the past eleven years been wrestling with these painful questions, which penetrate their very souls. Why, — oh, why? The less the possibility of finding acceptable answers to these questions, the greater and more justifiable the bitterness and anger filling their minds! That is why — alike on this side of the frontier and on that — the idea already familiar all over the world in the words „*Nem, nem soha!*“ has become a watchword and a slogan.

Never! never! never! The Hungarian nation will never acquiesce in the work done by Trianon!

PART TWO.

THREE AUSTRIAS IN PLACE OF ONE.

I.

THE LIBERTY ESTABLISHED BY TRIANON IN CENTRAL EUROPE.

1.

(The re-adjustment of Central Europe has created a situation far worse than that in existence before.)

In view of the importance of the matter, let us thoroughly investigate the question as to the results involved by the re-adjustment of the map of Central Europe at the cost of the dismemberment of Hungary?

In this connection two leading questions suggest themselves.

The first of these questions is whether the treaty-makers succeeded in demarcating the new frontiers in a manner ensuring a better enforcement of the nationality principle — viz. providing for a larger number of persons in any one territory conforming to the racial and linguistic postulates of the nationality principle — than in the days prior to the Great War?

The second question is — what has happened to those former Hungarian nationals whom the Treaty of Trianon subjected to a foreign rule? Has the Treaty succeeded in ensuring the national minorities a protection corresponding to that promised them when the great partition was effected?

We would note in advance that there is no satisfactory answer to either of these two questions. *From the nationality point of view, the state of things brought into being by the re-distribution of the territory of Central Europe is far worse than that in force previously.*

2.

(Three and a half million Magyars allotted the fate of minorities.)

If we exclude Croatia, the number of inhabitants cut off from Hungary was more than 10 millions. Only 47% of these 10 million inhabitants are racially akin to the rulers of the States in which they have been incorporated: 53% belong to races different from those of the rulers of the respective States; and more than 30% — viz. 3,424,000 — are pure Magyars. Today only 66.5% of the Magyars are living within the territory of Dismembered Hungary; while 33.5% have been compelled by Trianon to become unwilling nationals of foreign States.

The crying injustice of this is enhanced by the fact that of the 3,424,000 pure Magyars cut off from the mother country more than a million and a half are living — without any noteworthy admixture of persons of other races — in territories immediately adjoining new Hungary. The district called „Csallóköz“, Érsekújvár, Komárom, Losonc, the environs of Kassa, the district at the foot of the North-Eastern Carpathians, the districts around Szatmár, Zilah, Nagyvárad, Arad, and Szabadka, are all inhabited by pure Magyars; and the Trianon frontier line has here from one end to the other cut a gaping wound in the body of a compact Magyar area. Why had this crying injustice to be committed? All kinds of motives have

been suggested. We have been told that the shore of the Danube had to be allotted to the Czechs for strategical and commercial reasons; or that the greedy sharers in the spoil insisted upon being allotted a ready-made railway line; and that the conquerors must be in a position to advance their outposts into the heart of the Great Hungarian Lowlands.

The reasons varied according to local conditions. The only reason that cannot be adduced in support of the Trianon frontiers is that the re-adjustment has created better and sounder conditions in Central Europe and that the boundaries of the new States demarcated in the Trianon Palace are more in keeping with the postulates of national unity. *In Paris false fictions were employed; but the innate absurdity of these fictions was very soon revealed on their being subjected to the test of practical life.*

3.

(The liberty of the Croatian people; dictatorship and terror.)

Yugoslavia, for instance, owes its existence to the lying fiction that the only respect in which the Croats and Slovenes differ from the Serbs is their adhesion to the Roman Catholic — in place of the Greek Oriental — Church, and in their use of the Latin — in place of the Cyrillic — alphabet. The Yugoslavia created by Trianon — the reputedly united State — has six heads, like some fabulous monster. And these six heads are anxious to turn in six different directions. The Albanians, Bulgarians, Italians, and Hungarians look longingly at the neighbouring State which they still continue to regard as their own country. The European-minded Croats and Slovenes are a whole world removed from the Serbs with their Balkan culture and Balkan mentality. The Serbs are endeavouring to acquire an imperialistic overlordship. And the Croats have every reason to wish for a return of the days when they lived in political union with the Hungarians and enjoyed a far-reaching national autonomy (resembling the Home Rule system of Ireland) ensuring the protection of their national interests, — when Zagreb was not merely a subordinate provincial town in a big country, but a true metropolis the centre of the activity of Croatian autonomy and the seat of the Ban, the Governor of Croatia endowed with the authority of a viceroy. *For the Croats the liberty promised them in the Treaty of Trianon has resulted in the assassination, during the building up of the „united national parliament“ in Belgrade, of Stephen Raditch, the leader of the Croatian nation, who had demanded fair and equal treatment for his people, — in the subjection of the Croatian people to a*

Serbian dictatorship. — in the Serbian nationalists, men accustomed to employ Balkan methods, threatening the very lives of the leaders of the Croatian nation and indeed often actually murdering them. This is how Milan Sufflay was murdered recently, on February 19th., 1931. It goes without saying that all trace of the murderer or murderers has been lost. According to the „Berliner Tageblatt“, this failure to secure the culprit or culprits is due to the fact that the abettors are very highly placed public functionaries.

4.

(„The Slovaks and Czechs regard one another, not only with the indifference of strangers, but with hatred“, — say the Slovaks.)

One of the greatest absurdities comprised in the Treaty of Trianon is the allotment to Bohemia of a slice of Hungary.

Czecho-Slovakia was built up on the lying fiction that the Czech and the Slovak peoples were not two separate branches of the Slav race, but a united people — the Czecho-Slovak nation, if you please! — using the same language!! It was the Czechs who spread the report. Everybody believed the lie, — everybody except the Slovak people, the persons chiefly concerned. The Slovaks are fully conscious of their independence as a nation, to which they cling with pride.

In a later chapter we shall return again to the so-called „Pittsburg Convention“. All we need to know about it here is that this agreement, confirmed by President Masaryk in person, promised the Slovaks full autonomy in the event of their undertaking to assist in the formation of a joint Czecho-Slovak State. The joint Czecho-Slovak State has come into being; *but the moment they were in possession, the Czechs refused to hear of any autonomy being granted to the Slovaks.*

Anyone who today demands autonomy for Slovakia, is watched by detectives, taken up by gendarmes, and sentenced by the courts sitting in Czecho-Slovakia. *An illustration of this procedure is the case of Professor Tuka, who was sentenced to fifteen years' penal servitude simply for supporting in an uncompromising manner the endeavours to obtain autonomy for Slovakia.*

In 1926 Svehla, then Prime Minister, in order to re-assure the Slovaks, issued an ordinance in which he announced that every Czech official employed in Slovak territory was required to learn Slovak within six months. *So among themselves the Czechs admit that the Czech and the Slovak languages do differ from one another. The terms of this ordinance were never carried*

into effect. On November 28th., 1930, on the other hand, *the Slovak National Party complained that the public employees being dismissed from service in the Highlands under the pretext of economy are all without exception Slovaks, not a single Czech being included even by accident.*

This is the end of the Slovak autonomy promised in the Pittsburg Convention!

As soon as it had become evident that the Czechs had entered the northern countries of Hungary, not as brothers, but as conquerors, in its issue of October 16th., 1920, the „Slovák“ (journal) wrote as follows: — *„I am certainly agitating, and shall continue to agitate, against this treachery, this cajolment of the Slovak people.“* There has been no change since 1920 in the relations between Slovaks and Czechs. There may have been a few Slovak renegades in the pay of the Czechs; but the vast majority of the Slovak people still feel that they have been taken in, and rebel in their minds against the deception. Not long ago, in Vienna, the delegates of twenty-two Slovak associations established in foreign countries founded the world league of Slovak societies. In its first proclamation this league declares that *after living together for more than ten years the Slovaks and the Czechs still regard one another, not only with the indifference of strangers, but with reciprocal hatred, and that the desire to separate from the Czechs is every year striking deeper roots in the soul of the Slovak people.*

5.

(The Ruthenian people too is still waiting in vain for the promised autonomy.)

Still more glaring is the treachery involved in the case of the district inhabited by Ruthenians. On September 10th., 1919, at Saint Germain-en-Laye, the Czechs concluded a treaty with the Great Powers. In this treaty for securing the minority rights *the Czechs undertook an obligation to guarantee the autonomy of the Ruthenians.* The Pittsburg Convention was an agreement made between the Czechs and the delegates of the Slovak associations of America — i. e. it was a treaty concluded only with a Slovak fraction not commissioned by anyone to act on behalf of the whole Slovak people. This was the pretext employed by President Masaryk too when he refused to accept the validity of the Pittsburg Convention put forward by the Slovaks who demanded autonomy. But the Treaty of Saint Germain-en-Laye was made between the Czechs and those Powers to which they owed the very existence of their country. *There was no means of repudiating this treaty.* It would, however, be a mistake to imagine that the Czechs have ful-

filled this promise at any rate. The Czechs do not, it is true, deny the obligation devolving upon them under the Treaty of Saint Germain-en-Laye; but they none the less *simply ignore the obligation undertaken by them and refuse to grant the autonomy due to the Ruthenians. This is an interesting and edifying illustration of the manner in which the conquerors are teaching the conquered the value of treaty obligations.*

If this is the treatment meted out by the Czech conquerors to the Ruthenians and Slovaks whom they are supposed to have „liberated“, it is easy to imagine the lot that has fallen to the Magyars and Germans living in the districts cut off from the mother country. For let us not forget that *Czecho-Slovakia contains all the „nationalities“ — except of course the Serbians, Croats and Slovenes — which made the ethnographical map of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy so variegated in colour.*

6.

(The eternal differences between Transylvania and Old Rumania.)

In creating the new formation called Greater Rumania the victors have been just as unfortunate as they have been in the creation of Yugoslavia and Czecho-Slovakia. Rumania resembles an enormous serpent which has swallowed a victim larger than itself. The victim has slipped down its throat, but the serpent is writhing in helpless agony. It cannot digest its prey. In the very centre lies a compact, coherent territory inhabited exclusively by Magyars; and this compact area is linked with Hungary by a corridor of mixed (Magyar—Rumanian) population. At the same time Rumania had to absorb a considerable mass of Germans; she has her Bulgarians, her Serbs, her Turks, and her Tartars; and she has no suitable staff of officials for governing this conglomerate population with its many different cultures and conflicting sentiments. In the days of Hungarian rule Transylvania was a province with an absolutely Western culture. Whereas, with all the boasted liberty she is supposed to represent, Old Rumania has remained a typically Balkan country. The union of these two countries in the Treaty of Trianon has been all for nothing; *Transylvania and Old Rumania will never understand one another, —as is proved by the fact that ever since the Union they have been politically at daggers drawn, the bitterest conflict being waged unceasingly between the politicians of the Kingdom of Rumania proper and the Rumanian politicians of Transylvania.* Instead of attempting to raise their own country to the level of Transylvania, the politicians of Old Rumania have been endeavouring to debase the economic, cultural and social organisa-

tions of Transylvania to the level of their own kingdom. While her internal affairs and the corruption of her public life are continually causing a world scandal, the „united“ „national“ State of Rumania — her body larded with innumerable racial minorities — is going inevitably and irretrievably to the dogs, thus proving the truth of the words of the philosophical President of the Czecho-Slovak Republic — „a country employing *forte* against its racial minorities is condemning its own morals to irretrievable decay“. (Though we would note by the way that Massaryk even in his own country confines himself to the theoretical side, not attempting to apply this irrefutable philosophy of his in practice.)

7.

(Scotus Viator, the great friend of the Succession States, and the liberty prevailing in those States.)

Prior to and during the Great War, the British publicist Dr. Seton Watson, who uses the *nom de guerre* „Scotus Viator“, was the greatest enemy of Austria and more particularly of Hungary. Giving credence to all the calumnies employed by our enemies to

blacken our character, he continually reproached Hungary for oppressing the non-Magyar nationalities living in her territory. The partition of Hungary is due very largely to the agitation carried on by Dr. Seton Watson under the pseudonym of Scotus Viator. Well, you should ask Dr. Seton Watson — or rather Scotus Viator — what he thinks of the new state of things in Central Europe? You should ask him what he thinks of the methods employed by the Succession States in their treatment of the racial minorities?

Dr. Seton Watson — otherwise known as Scotus Viator — admits openly that the new adjustment has not achieved the object for which it was made. In his articles on the system of government of the Czechs and the Serbians he has been compelled to admit that in respect of national rights the Treaties of Peace have brought about a situation far worse than that in force in pre-War days. We have no doubt that he will before long be wirting the same about Rumania too.

Maybe you will not believe us when we tell you such things; but surely you must believe Dr. Seton Watson — otherwise known as Scotus Viator!!

II.

THE LEGAL PROTECTION GUARANTEED THE RACIAL MINORITIES HAS PROVED AN UTTER FIASCO IN THE SUCCESSION STATES WHICH HAVE BENEFITED BY THE PARTITION OF HUNGARY.

1.

(The acquisition of territory by the Succession States was made subject to the guaranteeing of the legal protection postulated in the Minority Treaties.)

The Treaties of Peace concluded after the Great War brought about a material change in the legal position of the racial minorities. Prior to the Great War — apart from the provisions of the Berlin Conference relating to Rumania — there had not been even any international regulations restricting the sovereign prerogatives of the several States in this respect. However, the so-called Minority Treaties created an entirely novel situation by restricting to a certain degree the sovereignty of the States concerned.

During the course of the year 1919 the Great Powers concluded with Czecho-Slovakia, Yugoslavia and Rumania treaties in which these States undertook to respect the racial, linguistic and religious liberty of the national minorities living in their respective territories. These treaties entrust the League of Nations with the work of controlling the observance of the obligations contained in the same.

Special importance must be attached to the fact that Czecho-Slovakia, Rumania and

Yugoslavia all alike undertook to recognise the said obligations as fundamental laws; and that all three States alike thereby undertook „that no law, regulation or official action shall conflict or interfere with these stipulations, nor shall any law, regulation or official action prevail over them“. The importance of this passage lies in the fact that the Little Entente States concerned usually refer to their sovereignty when they protest against any outside interference in the legal questions relating to minorities. From the text quoted above it is evident, however, that the States in question voluntarily renounced the idea of an unrestricted enforcement of their sovereignty in respect of the minority rights. For the text of the Treaty also shows that this renunciation was a *sine qua non* of the allotment to the States concluding the Minority Treaties of territories where important minorities of other race were living.

In Vol. V. of the semi-official publication entitled „The History of the Peace Conference“, Major Temperley — the editor of the publication — explains the legal nature of the minority treaties as follows: — „The procedure adopted by the Great Powers is simply that, when giving territories to an already existing State or when creating a new State,

they at the same time stipulate the conditions governing the transference of the territories in question. And these conditions consist in a proviso that the bona fide inhabitants of the territories in question shall receive full civil rights, and that in the future no difference at all shall be made between nationals in respect of race, language or religion. And Wilson himself had said clearly enough that the new States were granted the new territories already incorporated only against the signature of the minority treaties. Consequently, the failure to observe the provisions of the minority treaties may even make the claim to such territories of doubtful validity. Charles Dupuis, Member of the French Academy and a world-famed authority on international law, holds that the sovereignty of the Succession States over the territories transferred to them ceases automatically the moment these States fail to fulfil the sine qua non of that sovereignty by observing the provisions of the Treaties of Peace relating to the protection of minorities and to the protection of the property of Hungarian nationals.

That the stipulations contained in the minority treaties were really serious conditions of the cession of the territories in dispute, may be concluded from the fact that it was only after considerable hesitation — after the expiration of the ultimatum addressed to her by the Great Powers — that Rumania finally made up her mind to sign the minority treaty.

If the Succession States attach such great importance to the maintenance intact of their sovereignty, they should have refused to accept the restriction stipulated by the Powers before they had received the counter-value the granting of which had been made subject to such acceptance.

2.

(Not one of the Succession States has taken the protection of minorities seriously.)

However, Hungary's neighbours — apart from the hesitation of Rumania referred to above — undertook the obligation without turning a hair or even lodging a protest. Then they behaved and acted just as if they had never undertaken any obligation of the kind. They all of them lost no time in providing for the inclusion in their codes of laws of a kind of declaration which, while being quite harmless in its effects at home, should suggest to foreign public opinion the idea that the „national States“ built up on the ruins of the former Monarchy had adopted a truly democratic system and were desirous of seriously carrying into effect the obligations undertaken in the minority treaties. Rumania too actually incorporated in law the principle that „the liberty of conscience is unrestricted“. At the same time,

however, Hungarian ladies and old men were bastinadoed and almost beaten to death in the public squares by Rumanian soldiers simply because they had called themselves Hungarians and had refused to renounce their race. This was probably done to encourage the said „liberty of conscience“! Czecho-Slovakia and Yugoslavia too provided for the drafting of similar high-sounding laws. Consequently you have to be very reserved and circumspect in your judgment when you hear the statesmen or diplomats of the Succession States talking of „shop-window“ laws of the kind. For the fate of the minorities does not depend upon these „shop-window“ laws. What it does depend upon is the unpretentious laws and ordinances dealing with questions of detail which to the uninitiated appear so innocent and harmless, — laws and ordinances which — in Czecho-Slovakia, Rumania and Yugoslavia alike — flout and make a mockery of the legal principles appointed in the minority treaties and in the „shop-window“ laws drafted for the edification of foreign countries.

And the cynicism with which they flout the obligations undertaken in the treaties made with the Great Powers is truly amazing! In an article published in the „Fortnightly Review“ in 1927, Dudley Heathcote, the well-known journalist, tells us that Bratianu, then Prime Minister of Rumania, made the following statement in his presence: „I can assure you that, if you return to Kolozsvár or Nagyvárad on a visit in ten years time, you will not find the Hungarian minorities living there today!“ In 1929, after the accession to power of Maniu and his Party, Panait Istrati, the world-famed Rumanian poet, penned the following words: „the politicians of Rumania, whatever party they may belong to, are not capable of governing without the bastinado and corruption...“ Very similar is the statement made by another poet, Octavian Goga, who was Minister of Education in the Avarescu Cabinet: he declared that the Hungarian question could not be settled by the bastinado and brute force in the manner attempted by Voivoda and Maniu“. And in 1925 Ludovic Ciato, in his book dealing with the Rumanian gendarmerie (country police), speaking of the methods employed by the Rumanian Government, wrote that „the poor unfortunates whose bones have been broken by the fists, boot-heels and rifle-butts of these heroes include Rumanians too; but the vast majority are after all only Hungarians, Jews, Russians and persons of other foreign races“.

Well, then, here you have the evidence of a few Rumanian witnesses showing you how the principle of protection laid down in the minority treaties is interpreted in Rumania. Everybody in Europe knows now that the situation is no better — that if possible

it is even worse — in Yugoslavia, where the dictatorship now in power employs the most effective weapons of terror. After studying the memorandums submitted by the Yugoslav minorities to the League of Nations, Miss Edith Durham wrote an article in „The New Statesman“ in which she said that „these memorandums disclose the perpetration of a whole series of crimes including murder, theft, inquisitorial methods of cross-examination, and even burning alive“. And Scotus Viator, the patron of the Yugoslavs, in October, 1930, wrote a series of articles in the Prague „Lidove Noviny“ in which he severely attacked the minority policy of the Yugoslav dictatorship.

Though these articles of Scotus Viator's appeared in a Czech paper, we must not suppose that this means that conditions in Czecho-Slovakia are much better. Here again we may refer to the authority of Scotus Viator himself, who — albeit he still betrays a certain prejudice against the Hungarians — on the occasion of the celebration of the tenth anniversary of the foundation of the Czech State, wrote as follows of the Hungarians subjected to Czech rule: — „The Hungarians have no claim to rights by referring to the past (?). But some of their complaints are justified by absolute law“.

3.

(Large numbers of persons belonging to the Magyar minorities have been deprived of their rights of citizenship.)

We could produce thousands of cases to show that the Succession States do not shrink from resorting to the most brutal means in their determination to flout all the provisions of the minority treaties. For instance, the minority treaties stipulate that the Succession States shall not be entitled to deprive the inhabitants of the territories allotted to them of their rights of citizenship. However, the Succession States have expelled — and are still expelling — from their territories thousands of persons of Magyar race; the pretext offered being that these persons are not Czecho-Slovak, Rumanian, or Yugoslav nationals respectively. The fact that his family has for centuries lived in the territory allotted to the respective Succession State, is of no avail to save the exiled Magyar from the bitterness of homelessness. This procedure has enabled these States, not only to reduce the number of Magyars living within their territory, but also to avoid having to bear the charges involved by the payment of the pensions of officials and other employees formerly in the service of the State, the said charges thus devolving upon Dismembered Hungary. For the latter country, diminished as its resources are, could not bring itself to be guilty of the inhumanity of allowing those who

had in the past been faithful servants of the State Administration to perish by hunger.

The abuses committed in connection with the interpretation of the provisions relating to nationality exhausted the patience even of Scotus Viator, the great friend of the Czechs, who on the tenth anniversary of the foundation of the Czecho-Slovak State established the fact that in the question of nationality and homelessness the Czecho-Slovak Government was treating the Magyars with the greatest injustice.

In addition, the Succession States have found the means of getting rid also of those Hungarians whom even the methods described above have failed to deprive of their rights of citizenship; emigration snares are catching numbers of victims in the Hungarian territories cut off from the mother country. The unscrupulous emigration agents are allowed to wreak what havoc they like in the districts with a Hungarian population; and indeed in more than one case they have actually enjoyed official support. In recent years scandalous things have come to light in this respect, particularly in Rumania, where — as has been pointed out in the Hungarian Lower Chamber — the Ministry of the Interior has actively co-operated in recruiting emigrants of Magyar race for South America. It goes without saying that in the distant overseas countries the Hungarian emigrants cannot count upon the assistance of the Czecho-Slovak, Rumanian or Yugoslav diplomatic representatives, but are left to their own resources. The fatherland allotted to them by Trianon is glad to be rid of them.

4.

(Persons belonging to Magyar minorities are liable to a systematic persecution leading to their economic ruin.)

All the Succession States alike have invented shrewd means for defying the provisions of the minority treaties and economically ruining the Hungarians remaining within their territories. Czecho-Slovakia, for instance, in order to further the development of Czech industry, has systematically „starved“ the Hungarian undertakings existing in Slovakia and Ruthenia before the annexation of those provinces. Rumania has „nationalised“ the Hungarian undertakings, — „nationalisation“ meaning in this case that Rumanians had to be elected as Members of the Board of Directors, these new Directors having subsequently to be made presents of shares. In all three Succession States alike whole series of imposts and taxes have been invented primarily for the purpose of being inflicted upon the inhabitants of Magyar race. This system is aggravated by the ruthless spite shown by the bailiffs everywhere in their

dealings with Magyars. *All three Succession States alike have successfully employed the so-called „land reform scheme“ for the purpose of rooting out the Magyars and paralysing them economically, — a scheme of reform which these States have endeavoured to persuade foreign countries to regard as the triumph of democracy and equality as against the Hungarian „magnates“ and „latifundia“.* The truth is, however, that *the sequestration has not been confined to the large landed estates, but has been extended also to farms of diminutive size being the property of Magyars.* No compensation has been paid for the property thus sequestered; or the small amount paid down for the purpose of cajoling the owner is quite insufficient to cover the value of the property. Moreover, in the vast majority of cases the „democratic land reform scheme“ has been carried out in a manner serving the interests, *not of the people claiming a share of the land, but of the ministers, the ministers' friends, and the suspicious elements who have rendered political services.* In the issue of the „Societate de Măne“ (a periodical appearing in Kolozsvár) for September 25th., 1927. Juon Clopotzel, a Rumanian journalist, published an article — based on investigations made on the spot — dealing with the manner of carrying into effect the land reform scheme in the County of Bihar *„What has become of the land reform scheme in Bihar?“ — he asks: Why, it is a source of a far-reaching, shameful corruption! A lie, a deliberate fraud, an insolent speculation!“*

It is a mere accident that Juon Clopotzel wrote the above words about the County of Bihar; for he might have written just the same about the agrarian reform of any other county in Rumania: and indeed he might have written just the same about the state of things in Yugoslavia and in Czecho-Slovakia too.

Even where they were actually distributed, the landed estates thus sequestered *served the purposes of a fresh settlement or colonisation. This is how the Czech legionaries were introduced into „Csallóköz“, a district inhabited exclusively by pure Magyars; and this is how the Balkan Serbs have been introduced into the „Bácska“ district, and the Rumanians from Old Rumania into Transylvania.* The Magyars living in the neighbourhood have as a rule not received any share whatsoever of the sequestered estates; or at any rate cases of Magyars receiving lots of such land are extremely exceptional. The most brutal method of procedure is that adopted in Yugoslavia, where an ordinance issued on June 1st., 1920. proclaimed that *Yugoslav nationals of German and Magyar race had no right at all to claim land under the land reform scheme.*

(Persecution of the Magyar language, Hungarian schools and the Hungarian Churches in the Succession States.)

The minority treaties provide that „no restriction shall be imposed on the free use by any national of any language“. Nevertheless, in none of the Succession States is the use of Magyar firm-names or shop-signs permitted, (not even in pure Magyar districts.) *The terror of censors and confiscation are the means employed to intimidate the Hungarian press; no Hungarian theatrical company is tolerated in Yugoslavia even today; while in Transylvania and in the Highlands which have been cut off from the mother country, Hungarian actors have to face innumerable shifts to prevent their activity, their theatres being in many places confiscated, heavy taxes imposed on them, and their performances forbidden.*

The minority treaties ensure certain facilities in respect of the use of minority languages before courts of law and other public authorities, and guarantee minorities other advantages too in districts „in which a considerable proportion of nationals belonging to racial minorities are resident“. The first thing the Succession States did was to endeavour to provide that there should be as small a number as possible of districts or towns in which a considerable proportion of nationals belonging to racial minorities resided. This object was served by the re-distribution of the administrative districts and by that system of census for the elimination of minorities with which we propose to deal later on. The administrative districts were as far as possible supplemented by „watering“ the population of the towns by adding the inhabitants of neighbouring villages in such a manner as to provide for these „towns“ showing as small a proportion as possible of Magyar residents. Seton Watson — whom the Czechs are not likely to regard as a biased judge — *has established the fact that by an artificial readjustment of the judicial circuits and by joining Slovak villages to hundreds containing Magyar majorities, the Czechs have in very many places robbed the Magyar minority of the right of using its minority language.*

The spirit in which the minority languages are being treated by the authorities, is illustrated strikingly by the ordinance issued in February, 1930, by General Joanitescu, General Manager of the Rumanian Railways *The ordinance forbids the railway staff -- both when on duty and in private intercourse — to use any other language than Rumanian. Consequently, when two Magyar railwaymen meet, they are compelled to speak Rumanian. The provisions of the or-*

dinance apply also to intercourse with private parties, — even in cases where the private party does not know Rumanian, though the railwayman understands the language of the private party. This means that a Hungarian speaking nothing but Magyar who desires to travel from his own village to another Magyar village is compelled to take an interpreter to the Rumanian railway booking clerk (who knows Magyar too), otherwise he will be unable to book his ticket.

In respect of the use of the Magyar language conditions are no better in the other two Succession States either — in Czecho-Slovakia and Yugoslavia. In the County of Trencsén, for instance, — this being one of the counties cut off from Hungary and allotted to Czecho-Slovakia —, the sheriff (or „*zupan*“) *has forbidden by ordinance the use of Magyar in conversation in public.* Similar ordinances have been issued by other officials of the Czecho-Slovak Administration.

The minority treaties also ensure racial minorities the right of sending their children to schools where the language of instruction is their mother tongue. This provision is evaded by the Succession States in the first place by employing all kinds of tricks and forcible means in an endeavour to reduce the number of Magyar schools. In Rumania and Yugoslavia the theory of „magyarised“ Serbians and Rumanians has been set up; and with the assistance of this theory the system of „name analysis“ has been invented. This system means that Hungarian parents who have names not peculiarly Magyar in sound or who are members of the Greek Oriental or Greek Catholic Church, *are not allowed to send their children to Magyar schools even when the whole family speaks Magyar only!* The same procedure is resorted to even where no objection of the kind can be raised against either father or mother, provided there be one of the grandparents or great-grandparents whose Magyar race can be called in question either on account of his or her name or on account of his or her religion. *And Hungarians professing the Jewish faith are not permitted under any circumstances whatsoever to send their children to Magyar schools, even if their Magyar character is racially beyond dispute.* Of this anomaly the following facts offer an interesting and characteristic example. At the opening of the seventeenth century there was established in Transylvania, in a district inhabited by pure Magyars, the sect of so-called „Sabbatarians“. This sect kept Saturday instead of Sunday, celebrated the Jewish Easter, accepted the Jewish chronology, and adopted the Jewish prayers and ritual. In 1867, when the equality of the Jewish faith in Hungary was incorporated in law, the Hungarian Sabatarians joined the Jewish Church. And now, in Rumania, they are classed as of „Jewish nationality“, and are not allowed to send

their children — who cannot speak a word of any other language — to schools using Magyar as the language of instruction.

In this field too the Czechs employ the most shrewd means; their method of ridding themselves of the Magyar intellectuals is *simply not to allow Magyar children to obtain diplomas.* According to data presented to the Parliament in Prague, the Czechs *ploughed* every fourth pupil of the schools in the towns of Kassa, Nyitra and Igló, every third pupil of the schools in the towns of Nagyróce, Zsolna, Turócszentmárton, Vágújhely and Privigye, *and actually every second pupil in the schools in the towns of Liptószentmiklós and Eperjes. In the territory of Bohemia proper, on the other hand, the proportion of pupils failing to pass their exams is only 10%.*

In this respect both Rumania and Yugoslavia faithfully imitate the example set by Czecho-Slovakia.

Peculiarly depressing is the situation of the Churches belonging to the Magyar minorities living under the rule of the Succession States. First, under the pretext of „land reform“, the Succession States deprived them of the estates providing for their maintenance; and then they endeavoured to ruin them by a well-planned system.

Everybody reading these cases will understand fully the words of protest pronounced by Count Albert Apponyi on the tenth anniversary of the signature of the Treaty of Trianon: — „The treaties drafted for the protection of the racial minorities are still dead letters, thereby aggravating the injury wrought by the dismemberment of our territory, which has dealt a blow, not only to our interests, but to the higher interests of humanity at large, seeing that it involves the ancient Hungarian culture of the districts cut off from us — a culture with a glorious past — being exposed to a war of extermination.“

6.

(The League of Nations does not offer adequate protection to the persecuted minorities, thereby committing a grave neglect of its duty.)

The reader will recollect that — as already explained by us — the minority treaties placed the minority rights under the protection of the League of Nations; and he will ask in surprise why the League of Nations is unable to afford adequate protection against all these flagrant breaches of the treaties and all this inhuman persecution? The fate of the numerous minority memorandums received by the League of

Nations for years provided a source of world-wide indignation. Only one or two of these memorandums were ever subjected of a searching investigation; the rest were simply relegated to the archives of the League. The only result of the presentation of memorandums of the kind was that they were immediately and officially brought to the notice of the interested Government, which in this way was informed exactly of the identity of the persons who had presumed to file complaints against its procedure, — and in consequence knew exactly who were the persons requiring to be intimidated and taught how to behave!!

The most energetic and ruthless terror is employed against those Hungarians belonging to a minority who presume to apply to the League of Nations!

By this time the only Hungarians who dare to appeal against the anti-minority excesses of the Yugoslav dictatorship are those who have escaped beyond the frontier. And in Rumania the weapons of individual intimidation are resorted to, not only by the jingo press, but also by very many official factors. On October 27th., 1927, the Hungarian Party of Transylvania decided to send in a fresh petition to the League of Nations to protest against Anghelescu's Elementary Education Act. Three days later Tilea, Secretary of State in the Prime Minister's Department, received the Rumanian press in Bucharest, declaring that the Szatmár resolution was based upon a lie, and adding that „the action of the Hungarian Party in addressing a complaint to the League of Nations was mean and dirty procedure. The Hungarian Party was propagating chauvinism in Transylvania; but the reaction of the Rumanian people would be terrible“. Later on Tilea denied having made these statements; yet witnesses who heard them have proved that the denial of the Secretary of State in the Prime Minister's Department cannot be credited.

Is it surprising that the minorities so terribly victimised by a systematic persecution feel impelled by this state of things to give up all idea of laying their grievances before the only competent forum? Let us hear what the Hungarian Government has to say in this matter in the memorandum which it addressed to the League of Nations — on April 12th., 1929 — in re the procedure in minority questions: — „As a result of the protection remaining ineffectual, the disappointment of the minorities has assumed such dimensions that of late they have altogether given up the idea of addressing petitions to the League of Nations for the protection of their rights. This disillusionment is the true cause of their silence, and not any improvement in their situation“.

(Nor have the Madrid Resolutions improved the character of the protection of minorities.)

In June, 1929, at its session held in Madrid, the Council of the League of Nations decided upon several slight amendments of the previous rules of procedure governing the settlement of the matters contained in the petitions submitted by minorities. Interested quarters endeavour to make these so-called „Madrid Resolutions“ appear in the light of an unexceptionable solution of the problem and of measures rendering effectual the practical application of the right of control ensured to the League of Nations. However, that such is not the case, and that there has been no improvement of the situation even since the taking of the Madrid Resolutions, can be proved by quoting the opinion of very competent factors. On September 3rd., 1930, the Sixth International Minorities Congress decided to establish a registry in Geneva under the direction of Dr. Amende, the Secretary General of the Congress, the object of the said registry being to prevent the minority petitions despatched to the address of the Office of the Secretary General of the League of Nations being simply spirited away. The fact that the interested minorities — fourteen months after the passing of the Madrid Resolutions — still considered the establishment of an office of the kind necessary proves better than anything else that there has been no improvement in the situation even since Madrid. and that the work of spiriting away the complaints of the minorities is still proceeding unimpeded. The same views are professed by the 61 British Members of Parliament who in the early days of July, 1930 addressed a memorandum to the British Government for the purpose of urging the need of making the protection of the racial minorities more effectual. This memorandum too establishes the fact that „the League of Nations has failed to adequately protect the minority rights“, adding that „the reform of procedure decided on by the Council of the League at Madrid in 1929 has not improved the situation at all. Only two of the 42 petitions filed during the course of a year were discussed seriously by the Council; and even the matters contained in these two petitions were left unsettled“.

All persons dealing seriously and objectively with the question of the protection of minorities are convinced that there can be no talk of any serious minority protection until the League of Nations appoints a permanent committee to exercise the right of control stipulated in the minority treaties. — and until a permanent organ is established for the purpose of watching — in all cases on the spot — the practical realisation of the system of minority protection.

PART THREE.

THE TREATY OF TRIANON WAS THE WORK OF FRAUD.

I.

INTRIGUE AND FALSE INFORMATION TAKE THE PLACE OF THE RIGHT OF SELF-DETERMINATION.

1.

(For the Hungarian Nation there was no Right of Self-Determination.)

The principles proclaimed by President Wilson according to which every people was to be granted the right to decide its future destiny, were welcomed eagerly by the Hungarian nation. *The Hungarian nation, which shrewd and conscious propaganda has led foreign countries to regard as the oppressor of the Hungarian nationals speaking other tongues than Magyar, had for centuries been experiencing the lot, not of an oppressor, but of a victim of oppression in its own country.* It was only after the collapse of the Monarchy that her enemies represented Hungary before the world as an independent country with independent aims and possessing full sovereignty. The truth is, however, that pre-War Hungary was never independent; for despite its make-believe constitution its sovereignty as a State was completely lost in the union of the two countries known as the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. The reader will remember that prior to the Great War he had never heard of an independent Hungary. Hungary was always included in the collective term „Austria“. And pre-War Hungary was never a country with independent aims serving its own national ideals; for it was always compelled to neglect its own interests and serve those of the Austrian Empire.

The Compromise (Ausgleich) made in 1867 had given Hungary only a make-believe constitution. The only two branches of the public administration which really reflect the sovereignty of a nation — viz. foreign affairs and the army — had been reserved for itself by the Vienna Government. Hungary had no perceptible influence on the conduct of either the foreign or the military affairs of the Monarchy. Indeed, Hungarians were at all times treated with hostility and regarded with suspicion by the leading military authorities and by the diplomats.

After the proclamation of the principle of self-determination, the Hungarian nation realised that it had nothing more to fight for. *It was convinced that in the event of an honest and sincere application of the principle of self-determination there would be no reason to fear any collapse of its ancient fatherland, seeing that the peoples of a for-*

eign race would also remain true to that State union against which even after having lived together for so many centuries they could not possibly have any serious complaint. By this time the country had been completely exhausted by the efforts and privations entailed by the War; and the growing desire for peace impelled everyone to welcome with delight the opportunity to effect a just and honourable settlement. *The Hungarian nation felt that the principle of self-determination was in its favour, too and would serve to further its own national aims too.* Well, — *this oppressed Hungary, humiliated in her own eyes and discontented with the union with Austria, from the very first moment hoped and believed that the principle of self-determination proclaimed by Wilson would bring her too liberation, independence and an opportunity of self-government.*

In this interpretation of the situation the Hungarian nation was encouraged by the revolutionary adventurers who, with Count Michael Károlyi at their head, after the disastrous collapse of the Monarchy seized the reins of government. Károlyi and his adherents announced that they were friends of the Entente and that they had connections with the Entente Powers which would enable them to save Hungary from any serious catastrophe. This was the period when a Hungarian War Minister proclaimed that he „never wanted to see a soldier again“, and when the nation exhausted by the War had dispersed its remaining forces too. Yet these remaining forces would certainly have sufficed to hold back the disorderly armies which in the name of the Rumanian, Serbian and Czech régimes presumed to invade the territory of our country.

The Hungarian nation was warned of the naiveté of this belief and was *bitterly disillusioned first by the series of breaches of obligations committed by the Entente Powers in defying the provisions of the Armistices.* According to the official interpretation of the Supreme War Council of the Entente, the Diaz Armistice Agreement concluded early in November, 1918, stipulated that *for Hungary the original frontiers should constitute the line of demarcation.* Nevertheless, General Franchet d'Esperay, commanding the Balkan forces of the Entente, declared that the said Armistice Agreement was not binding on him. He made a new military agree-

ment with the Károlyi Government. However, he failed to keep this agreement too. The Serbians and the Rumanians passed beyond the new line of demarcation too and penetrated far into the heart of Hungary. In defiance of the agreement the Czechs occupied the Highlands of Hungary. And all three enemy States alike — actually prior to the peace negotiations — re-organised the administration of the territory they had seized, for all the world as if it was their property already.

All this naturally filled the minds of all Hungarians with a bitterness that threatened to drive them to reprisals. But the cup of despair was not full to the brim yet; the culmination of it all came with the resolution of the Paris Conference taken in February, 1919. For this resolution *permitted the Rumanians to occupy a strip of territory seventy kilometres broad in addition to the areas already under occupation.* The terms of this decision were conveyed to Count Michael Károlyi by Colonel Vyx, the Budapest representative of the Supreme War Council, on March 21st. *As it could not undertake to carry out the terms of this decision, the Károlyi Government handed in its resignation; whereupon Béla Kun and his confederates obtained possession of the power over a country which was suffering from the apathy of despair.*

As is well known, this was the beginning of a reign of terror lasting one hundred and thirty days. Launching the catchword „Mindén a miénk!“ (Everything belongs to us), the Communistic régime „socialised“ the factories, big estates and banks, and „communised“ house property. The prisons were filled with „hostages“ taken from the intellectual classes of the population. Terrorist troops ran amuck in the Capital, executing with a refinement of ruthless cruelty a large number of distinguished and worthy burghers. The counter-revolutionary movements were suppressed by wholesale massacre, both in Budapest and in the provinces. *This mad system fell to pieces finally as a result of its own incapacity and absurdity. However, during the one hundred and thirty days of its rule it caused the Hungarian nation much unspeakable suffering.*

What has been said already will suffice to prove clearly that it was the breaches of treaty obligations on the part of the Entente that drove Hungary into the arms of Bolshevism. However, Benesch and his fellows appeared before the Supreme Peace Council as the champions of Europe against a new danger; and by referring constantly to the Bolshevik régime these men succeeded in still further aggravating the situation of Hungary.

It was at this juncture that the Hungarian nation realised that the Wilsonian principle of self-determination had not been invented

for its benefit, — but for the benefit of those who desired to go shares in the territory of Hungary.

2.

(At first Masaryk and Benesch relied for support upon the bayonets of Czarism. It was only after the overthrow of Czarism that they began to show any enthusiasm for the principle of self-determination.)

Our neighbours, having divided the spoils, regarded the principle of self-determination as their exclusive property, — so much so indeed that they allowed themselves the privilege of using it for the purpose of practising the greatest political charlatanism.

It is a noteworthy fact that in the first phase of the Great War, when the Czechs, Masaryk and Benesch, and the two Dalmatians exiles — Supilo and Trumbitch — who had become fanatical champions of the Serbian cause, initiated their action, we did not hear a single word of any principle of self-determination. *All these politicians, who counted on a partition of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, at the period in question still relied for the success of their plans upon the autocratic power of Russian Czarism and upon the decisive power of the Russian bayonets.*

However, the workings of fate shattered Russia first, that country's collapse anticipating the falling to pieces of Austria-Hungary. The persons digging the grave of the Monarchy could not reckon any more upon the support either of the Czar or of the Russian bayonets; so for the purpose of realising their objects they had to acquire the sympathy of the democracy of Western Europe to take the place of autocracy. *It was at this juncture that they suddenly discovered that they possessed an unquenchable enthusiasm for democracy and the right of self-determination.*

But they were careful to keep this enthusiasm too within bounds. For instance, they took very good care not to demand an open and straightforward plebiscite — to be held under the control of neutrals — in any of the territories claimed by them. *For they knew perfectly well that such an undertaking on their part was bound to end in a fiasco. So they made every effort well in advance to replace the manifestation of a true popular suffrage by a show of misleading externals.* There were two ways of doing this, — the first being to trick the Austrian and Hungarian nationals living abroad before the collapse of the Monarchy into making various demonstrations, the second being to hold mass meetings, after the collapse had ensued, in the territories sentenced to separation from the mother countries, and to have so-called „popular resolutions“ passed by the same.

3.

(The Pittsburg Convention „only a simple private agreement, not a public treaty“.)

One of the most characteristic documents connected with this campaign is the so-called „Pittsburg-Convention“, which to be more accurate should perhaps really be called the „Pittsburg Agreement“.

The Pittsburg Convention was concluded on June 30th., 1918, the signatories being the leaders of the American Czech Associations and Masaryk of the one part and the leaders of American Slovak Associations of the other part. Under this agreement, which is drafted in a remarkably primitive manner, Masaryk and his friends undertook in the event of the foundation of a Czecho-Slovak State to grant the Slovaks an extensive autonomy. The Slovak leaders accepted the offer, and in return therefor agreed to the Highlands of Hungary being annexed to Bohemia. Anyone with the slightest knowledge of international law can see at a glance that this agreement is for various reasons absolutely invalid, and that it may be regarded in the best case as a mere private arrangement between a number of social unions without any of the binding force of public law. For the American Slovaks — most of whom were in any case American citizens — had no mandate from either the Slovaks of Hungary or the inhabitants of the Highlands of other races to represent them at the negotiations.

Shall we call as witness a man who will be accepted unconditionally by the Czechs themselves? *We here quote the words of President Masaryk, who in his „Memoirs“, published in 1925, speaks of the Pittsburg Convention as having been „only an agreement between the Slovaks and the Czechs of America“.* So on the day when the Convention was signed in 1918, Masaryk, the eminent scholar, must have been perfectly well aware of what he expressed so plastically in 1925 *That did not however prevent him presenting the Convention to President Wilson as a „political treaty“; while Wilson, who was also a scholar, accepted this quaint „scrawl“ as a political treaty justifying his recognition of Masaryk and his „private friends“ as „Czecho-Slovak Government“.*

4.

(The fate of the Ruthenian people of Hungary settled by an Austrian and an American national in a hotel room.)

It was by a piece of equally shrewd and cleverly stage-managed bluff that Masaryk settled the fate of Ruthenia too. At Mokesport, Pa., on June 26th., 1918, the Ruthenians living in America held a meeting at which, on behalf of Ruthenia (the district inhabited by the Ruthenians of Hungary), they declared that they desired to be annexed to Ukraine. It is perhaps superfluous to note that the

meeting held at Mokesport had no earthly right to pass resolutions in the name of the Ruthenians of Hungary, seeing that at the period in question the Ruthenians of Hungary were fighting shoulder to shoulder with the Slovaks on the Hungarian side against the common enemy. The resolution of the Mokesport meeting was handed to President Wilson by a certain Ignatius Gregory Zsatkovitch at Washington on October 21st., 1918. Wilson declared that there could be no question of any union with Ukraine. Zsatkovitch subsequently met Masaryk, with whom he made an agreement to the effect that, if it was impossible to join Ukraine, Ruthenia should be allotted to Czecho-Slovakia. Is it necessary after that to explain how little must be the value and the binding force in public law of a private arrangement made between Masaryk, an Austrian national, and Zsatkovitch, an American citizen, in a hotel room in Washington in re the fate of a part of the territory which had belonged to Hungary for a thousand years? Yet Wilson approved the Masaryk-Zsatkovitch agreement too. We wonder whether he accepted this private arrangement too — as he had accepted the Pittsburg Convention — as a „political treaty“?

5.

(Masaryk has failed to keep his promises.)

As we have seen, in the Pittsburg Convention Masaryk agreed to grant autonomy to the Slovaks. In the course of the pourparlers with Zsatkovitch he made a similar promise to the Ruthenians. *Though neither the Pittsburg Convention nor the Washington Agreement possesses any validity whatsoever in public law, there is nevertheless one man upon whom the promises contained therein were — and are still — binding. That man is Thomas Masaryk, who subsequently became President of the Czecho-Slovak Republic. But Masaryk — who, as we have seen, proved able to get the Pittsburg Convention accepted as public treaties by President Wilson —, when the time came for him (and through his person the Prague Government) to fulfil the promises which his personal undertaking had made binding upon the Czech Government, suddenly discovered that the agreements with which we have been dealing were invalid in public law. In his opinion the Pittsburg Convention was only „a private agreement concluded to re-assure a small fraction of Slovaks who seem to have dreamed of some sort of Slovak independence“.* The first Governor of the Ruthenia which had been promised autonomy was Ignatius Gregory Zsatkovitch, who on May 16th., 1921, resigned the high office conferred on him on the ground that nothing had come of the autonomy which had been promised in Washington.

6.

(Nor is the „Rome Covenant“ of more avail than the Pittsburg Convention.)

In April, 1918, Seton Watson convened a „congress of the oppressed nationalities of Austria-Hungary“ to meet in Rome. This Congress then elaborated in detail the plan for the partition of Austria and Hungary. We must in this connection too note that the Austrian and Hungarian nationals of „foreign“ races respectively who went to Rome as an *ad hoc* assembly were also not authorised by anyone to represent the will of their racial kin who had stayed at home; still less were they entitled to express an opinion on behalf of the entire population of the territories sentenced to separation from the mother countries. Nevertheless the Entente Powers referred to the so-called „Rome Covenant“ concluded on this occasion as the basis of their recognition of the „Czechoslovak Government“ and of the „Southern Slav Government“.

7.

(Nor are the bogus popular meetings of Slovaks, Rumanians and Serbians in any way entitled to take the place of a plebiscite.)

All the tricks and conferences and congresses so cleverly stage-managed during the War — together with all the resulting „political treaties“ and „covenants“ — cannot suffice to make an unbiassed critic accept them as an expression of the right of self-determination or the equivalent of a regular plebiscite. *Nor are the popular meetings arranged during the few weeks immediately following the Great War any better calculated to create such an impression.*

The first popular meeting of the kind was that arranged by the Slovaks who were in league with the Czechs on *October 30th., 1918, at Turócszentmárton*. This popular meeting was by no means representative of the real will of the people of the Highlands subsequently annexed to Bohemia. There are several reasons for making this statement. In the first place (1) the persons who took part in the meeting at Turócszentmárton did not represent even the Slovak people

itself, but only a fraction of the Slovak leaders. This is shown by the fact that of the 107 so-called „delegates“ present at the meeting no fewer than 58 were inhabitants of the township in which the meeting was held (Turócszentmárton), a place with a population of only 4000 souls. In the second place (2) the meeting at Turócszentmárton did not represent the non-Slovak inhabitants of the Highlands at all (though the non-Slovak outnumbered the Slovak inhabitants of the Highlands — the respective figures being 1,874,000 and 1,702,000). In the third place (3) the popular meeting held at Kassa at the same time as the meeting at Turócszentmárton decided in favour of a union with Hungary. *If popular meetings may be taken at all as the equivalents of a plebiscite, the Kassa meeting is at least as fully entitled as the one at Turócszentmárton to be regarded as authoritative.*

At a public meeting arranged by the Serbs at Újvidék, in South Hungary, on November 25th., 1918, a resolution was passed in favour of a union with Serbia. Apart from formal defects, this resolution is also inadequate as an equivalent of a plebiscite. For in the first place (1) the public meeting was held after the entry of the Serbian troops and was subject to the terror of the Serbian bayonets; in the second place (2) the non-Serbian inhabitants were not represented at all at the popular meeting, albeit the population of those districts of the Hungarian „Bácska“ and the Hungarian Banate which today form constituent elements of Yugoslavia at that time included 1,141,000 non-Serbs and only 378,000 Serbs.

At a public meeting held at Gyulafehérvár on December 1st., 1918, the Rumanians voted in favour of a union with Rumania proper. There are several reasons why this resolution passed at the public meeting held at Gyulafehérvár cannot be held as equivalent to a plebiscite. In the first place (1) this public meeting too had no mandate to represent even the Rumanians of Hungary; in the second place (2) it certainly did not represent the non-Rumanian inhabitants; in the third place (3) *the public meeting held simultaneously at Kolozsvár voted in favour of the status quo ante — i. e. it declared its unwillingness to be separated from Hungary.*

II.

THE TREATY OF TRIANON IS THE RESULT OF DISHONEST CAJOLERY AND IGNORANT SUPERFICIALITY.

1.

(Counterfeit data submitted to the Supreme Peace Council.)

It is astounding that the great nations of the world should have lent the glamour of

their prestige to sanction the vandalism wrought by the Treaty of Trianon. But we have no charge to bring against those nations on that score; nor indeed could we do so. *The Treaty of Trianon was the work, not of the nations, but of the statesmen who*

had promised universal peace to the peoples exhausted by the War. Dealing with the re-adjustment of Central Europe, the „Saturday Review“ — a review with which Lord Rothermere is closely connected — establishes the fact that „Wilson, Lloyd George and Clémenceau had not the faintest knowledge of either diplomacy, or geography, or history“. It goes without saying that it was an easy matter to mislead and cajole these men, who were utterly ignorant of the conditions in force in Central Europe. The leaders of the great Western States, who were responsible for directing the work of the Supreme Council, acted on the basis of data submitted to them as statements of the truth by unscrupulous forgers. *Hungary's neighbours, covetous of her territory, falsified statistics and historical facts, and actually falsified nature too, having advanced to the dignity of navigable rivers little brooks intended to serve as frontiers which in summer can be forded with ease by children.*

Such a brook is, for instance, the Ronyva, near Sótoraljaujhely.

2.

(To the Supreme Council the fate and the future of Hungary was a „question of minor importance“.)

It makes one's blood boil to read the things which the American writer, David Hunter Miller, has to tell un in his work entitled „*My Diary of the Conference of Paris*“. In this book Hunter Miller has endeavoured to record as faithfully as possible all the discussions heard at the plenary sessions and in the various commissions of the Conference. The first thing to shock us as we read this book is the *unimportance and humiliating insignificance of the place taken in the enormous pile of data recorded therein by those problems which affected the existence of Hungary, — of the problems upon which hung her life or her annihilation.* Why this was so has been explained by Mr. Lloyd George, who has told us that *after the final drafting of the conditions of peace with Germany the leading statesmen were so exhausted — and regarded the affairs of the other small Powers as of so little importance — that the discussion and decision of the questions involved was entrusted to factors of an inferior rank, who were naturally more easily accessible to Benesch and his friends than the Chief Delegates.*

The other thing in Hunter Miller's book which dumfounds us is the record of the cheap and insolent distortions and mutually contradictory lies which Benesch and his friends had the presumption to employ without fear of repudiation by any Member of the Supreme Council. Hunter Miller's records prove that a whole series of the most daring historical, ethnographical and geographical absurdities were put before the

Conference as facts, without anyone in the Supreme Council having called the preposterous statements in question.

3.

(The Succession States fear a plebiscite even when it is only a question of the fixing of their own common frontiers.)

It did happen at times that Lansing, Sonnino, and Lloyd George felt some misgivings and addressed awkward questions to the representatives of the Little Entente. But these representatives were always fully prepared by the use of judicious prevarication to resolve any doubts that might arise. An agreement was made rapidly at the expense of Hungary. The result was that the Supreme Council simply acknowledged every claim formulated by Hungary's neighbours. But where it was a question of a conflict of interests between these neighbouring States themselves, the decision was a far more complicated matter. To give an instance, — when Vesnitch, the Serbian delegate, and Bratianu, the delegate of Rumania, had disputed long and bitterly as to whether the Banate separated from Hungary should belong to Rumania or to Serbia, and Clémenceau — with a view to closing the dispute — proposed that *a plebiscite should be held in the disputed territory, both the Rumanian and the Serbian delegate, in their sudden fright at the idea suggested, asked for time to consider the matter.* After the time allowed for consideration had expired, the delegates reported that they had in the meantime come to an agreement. They had every cause to fear the test of a plebiscite. *There was no doubt that in the event of a plebiscite the majority of the inhabitants would have declared that they did not desire to be ruled either by Serbians or by Rumanians, but preferred to remain under the aegis of the Hungarian State.* The agreement in question involved a certain renunciation on the part of the Serbians; though they received compensation for the renunciation — naturally once more at the expense of Hungary. In exchange for the section of the Banate surrendered to Rumania they were allotted other territories in the „Bácska“ region not previously included in the re-adjustment, — the same being territories with a purely Magyar population immediately adjoining Dismembered Hungary.

4.

(For the satisfaction of strategic and economic interests, thousands of Magyars have been subjected to foreign yokes.)

At the meeting at which the Rumanian-Hungarian frontier was discussed, *Tardieu, the rapporteur on the question, declared that under the re-adjustment roughly some 600.000*

Magyars would be subjected to Rumanian rule; whereas the truth was that the Trianon frontier between Hungary and Rumania was cutting off from the mother country more than three times that number, transferring to Rumanian rule some 1,705,000 Magyars. In reply to a question asked by Lansing, Tardieu himself admitted that the proposed new frontier was not in conformity with the requirements of ethnography, for „the really correct line ought as a matter of fact to run 20 kilometres farther east“. According to Tardieu, however, it was out of the question to apply the absolutely exact ethnographical line, seeing that „in that case it would be necessary to cut a railway trunk line, a procedure which would endanger the continuity of traffic“.

So, for the sake of a railway line hundreds of thousands of Magyars had to be compelled to live under a foreign rule!

The same principle was enforced in a manner which is perhaps even more startling in the case of the line of the Danube. Of that line Benesch himself, when addressing the Supreme Council, admitted that „the bulk of the people living on the banks of the river were really Magyars“. At the same time, however, he pleaded that „the question of the Danube as frontier cannot be made subject to discussion, seeing that it is an essential and vital problem“. The Supreme Council allotted the line of the Danube to the Czechs, together with the „Csallóköz“ district — a purely Magyar island lying between the two branches of the Danube — and the pure Magyar town of Komárom. Now the population of the territory involved included 102,000 Magyars, 2900 Germans, 453 Slovaks, and ONE (1) Czech!!

5.

(Czechs in the guise of impartial American experts.)

One more instance to illustrate the daring tricks employed by Benesch & Co. to cajole the Members of the Supreme Council when such a course was necessary.

Early in 1919 the Supreme Council decided to send a neutral commission to Hungary to appoint authentically the demarcation of the Magyar-Slovak ethnographical boundary. By shrewd manoeuvring Benesch succeeded in getting into this „neutral“ commission two Members of the American Delegation who were American citizens, not by birth, but by naturalisation, and who were actually Czechs both by race and by tongue. The two Czechs thus smuggled into the „neutral“ commission, John Karmezin (a former captain serving in the Czech Legion) and Robert Kamey (university professor), did actually go to Kassa, the centre of

the Highlands which had been sentenced to be cut off from Hungary-but they did not think it at all necessary to investigate on the spot the question on which they had to report. In their apartment in the „Schalkház“ Hotel in Kassa, they drafted a *procès verbal* of which every detail was of course an invention. This *procès verbal* was subsequently employed as a decisive argument in favour of the separation from Hungary of the northern districts of the country.

6.

(The Czechs themselves were surprised by the lavish generosity of the Supreme Council.)

Not even the greedy neighbours so covetous of Hungarian territory had dared to dream that they would achieve so easy a triumph. A Czecho-Slovak Senator of the name of Medinger gives us some information which is very characteristic of the situation in this respect. He was told by Tushár, former Czecho-Slovak Minister in Vienna, that „the Czechs had been extremely surprised by the demarcation of frontiers effected by the Peace Conference in the territory of Hungary adjoining their country. The proposals of the Czechs relating to the frontiers had been submitted to the Peace Conference merely to serve as a basis of negotiation. They had been veritably flabbergasted when the Peace Conference, as a result of an imperfect knowledge of the situation, had given them everything they asked for“.

Senator Medinger's extremely characteristic information is confirmed in a very interesting manner by the data showing the gradual advance in the claims made by the Czechs.

The claims made by the Czechs were as follows:

On December 6th., 1918, they demanded the cession of 1,900,000 inhabitants, including 220,000 Magyars;

By January 26th., 1919, their demand had advanced to 2,900,000 inhabitants, including 900,000 Magyars;

Under the Treaty of Trianon they were allotted 3,576,000 inhabitants, including 1,084,000 Magyars.

7.

(In the event of a contradiction of principles, the benefit of the doubt was always accorded to the Succession States, to the prejudice of Hungary.)

For the enforcement of their claims our greedy neighbours resorted to all sorts and conditions of arguments. In his work entitled „The Peace Conference“, Major Temperley tells us that the Members of the Conference regarded the ethnographical as being

the most important of all the arguments. Where the ethnographical test could not be applied, the Conference passed in review the geographical, strategic, economic and historical grounds, and the question of communications. *All these arguments were however applied in favour of the neighbouring States.* In his book entitled „*Le probleme hongrois*“, René Dupuis establishes the same fact, saying that „the ethnographical, strategic, and economic considerations were usually interpreted in favour of the Succession States to the prejudice of Hungary“. The historical grounds were more than once applied in the most fantastic manner. To give an instance of this: the outlying parts of the township of Szob were allotted to the Czechs because the ancient royal castle commanding the district was called Visegrád, that name being of Slav origin!!!

When Bolshevism broke out in Hungary, Benesch — in articles in the „*Matin*“ and the „*Times*“, and in his representations to the Supreme Council — supplemented the arguments previously adduced by the plea that „the interest of Europe demanded that the northern part of Hungary should be taken possession of by the Czechs, that being the only means of protecting the West of Europe against Bolshevism“. And this plea had the desired effect; for it was at this juncture that the Conference decided to give Ruthenia („*Ruska-Krajna*“) to the Czechs and to fulfil to the utmost possible limit the demands formulated by the Czechs. In other words, the temporary misfortune of Hungary — the seizure of power by a band of Red adventurers — was used as a pretext for augmenting and aggravating the chastisement of that ill-starred country. This case is a peculiarly glaring one in view of the fact (already referred to) that the outbreak of Bolshevism in Hungary was due in reality to the failure to observe the provisions contained in the armistice agreements, seeing that a justifiable and comprehensible despair plunged the nation into that condition of apathy which made it an easy prey for the Red adventurers. Hungary and the Hungarians cannot possibly be held up to blame for this issue.

8.

(The peace negotiations were no peace negotiations even in form.)

And the Hungarian Peace Delegates were never given an opportunity to inform the Members of the Peace Conference of their mistakes. For the Peace „Negotiations“ in our case never assumed the form of real negotiations. *The Hungarian Peace Delegates were interned at Neuilly, in the hotel bearing the name of „Chateau de Madrid“, like so many lepers; and they were not allowed to communicate direct, by word of mouth, with the Conference, only in writing. But even this intercourse in writing was anything but negotiations.* To negotiations there must be two parties, who reciprocally allow one another to adduce their arguments, Hungary's arguments were however not listened to by anyone. The data, maps and statistical figures taken to Paris by the Hungarian Peace Delegates to prove the justice of their cause, were of enormous volume. The „*Pesti Hirlap*“ simultaneously published a special English, French and Italian number calling the attention of the leading statesmen of the world to the injustice in the making. All this work was in vain. *The Hungarian Notes were not even read. The text of the Treaty had been drafted already in conformity with the dictates of the neighbouring States so covetous of Hungarian territory.*

Can a Peace Edict drafted in this manner be the source of a real or lasting peace? Of course it cannot. This is not our opinion only; it is the opinion expressed also by the most eminent experts present at the Peace Conference. *In his book entitled „The Economic Consequences of the Peace“. John Maynard Keynes, for instance, comes to the conclusion that „this Peace was dictated by blind passion and indiscriminating greed; it is not the materialisation of the Wilsonian principles, but a mere parody thereof promising to drive a suffering Europe to the brink of ruin and starvation“. In the British House of Lords Viscount Bryce, Professor of History in Oxford, former Minister, declared that the Treaty of Peace „had simply thrown* *up to the world a window“.*

III.

THE UNFULFILLED PROMISES OF MILLERAND'S LETTER.

1.

(It was only on the basis of the promises contained in M. Millerand's Covering Letter that Hungary signed and incorporated in law the Treaty of Trianon.)

Despite their utter ignorance of the conditions prevailing in Central Europe, the Great Powers nevertheless felt themselves

that the work they had done was bad. They admitted as much in that passage in the Covering Letter of M. Millerand which relates to the tracing of the frontiers. This passage runs word for word as follows:

„The Allied and Associated Powers have not forgotten the idea inspiring them when they demarcated the frontiers, and have not lost sight of the possibility of the frontier

thus demarcated failing in places to conform to ethnographic or economic requirements. The investigation to be made on the spot may possibly render it necessary at certain points to revise the boundary fixed in the Treaty. Such an investigation cannot however be carried out today, seeing that such a procedure would postpone that conclusion of the Peace which is so eagerly desired by the whole of Europe. But later on, when the Boundary Commissions have begun their work, should they be of opinion that the provisions of the Treaty — as explained above — are unjust in character, and that the remedying of this injustice is in the general interest, they will be in a position to report such opinion to the Council of the League of Nations. The Allied and Associated Powers agree that in such cases, provided a request to that effect be made by one of the interested parties, the Council of the League shall be entitled to offer its good services for the purpose of changing the original frontier by peaceful means under the same conditions, in places where such change is regarded as desirable by any of the Boundary Commissions“.

This promise contained in the Covering Letter signed by M. Millerand was so highly valued by Hungary that the Bill requesting the National Assembly, in view of the pressure brought to bear on the country, to incorporate the Treaty of Trianon, adduced this passage as one of the principal grounds for acceptance, giving expression to the presumption that „in the course of the carrying into effect of the Treaty of Peace certain of the provisions thereof would not be rigidly enforced“.

2.

(At a meeting of the French Parliament M. Briand, Prime Minister and Foreign Minister of France, admitted that the „arbitrarily demarcated“ frontier of Hungary ought to be rectified.)

A good deal was said in the French Chamber too — during the debate on the ratification of the Treaty — about M. Millerand's letter. The rapporteur, M. Guernier, himself admitted that the Treaty included exceptionally rigorous conditions to the prejudice of Hungary, and when nevertheless moving the approval of the Treaty, based his proposal on the promises contained in M. Millerand's letter. He laid special emphasis on the fact that this letter afforded ground for changes of an essential character. Deputy Margain noted in this connection that M. Millerand's Covering Letter „was in itself an admission on the part of the Government that the Treaty was bad“.

That the Treaty is really a bad piece of work, was not denied even by M. Briand, then Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs, who at the same meeting declared that „the Hungarian frontier had to a certain extent been arbitrarily demarcated. It would

suffice to take a map and follow the frontier line, which in any case was not unconditionally definitive in character, and which, as we should soon see, was not unconditionally supported by the principles of justice. The frontier had injured certain interests and there would therefore have to be certain rectifications“.

(The Council of Ambassadors never had any serious intention of fulfilling the promises contained in M. Millerand's Letter.)

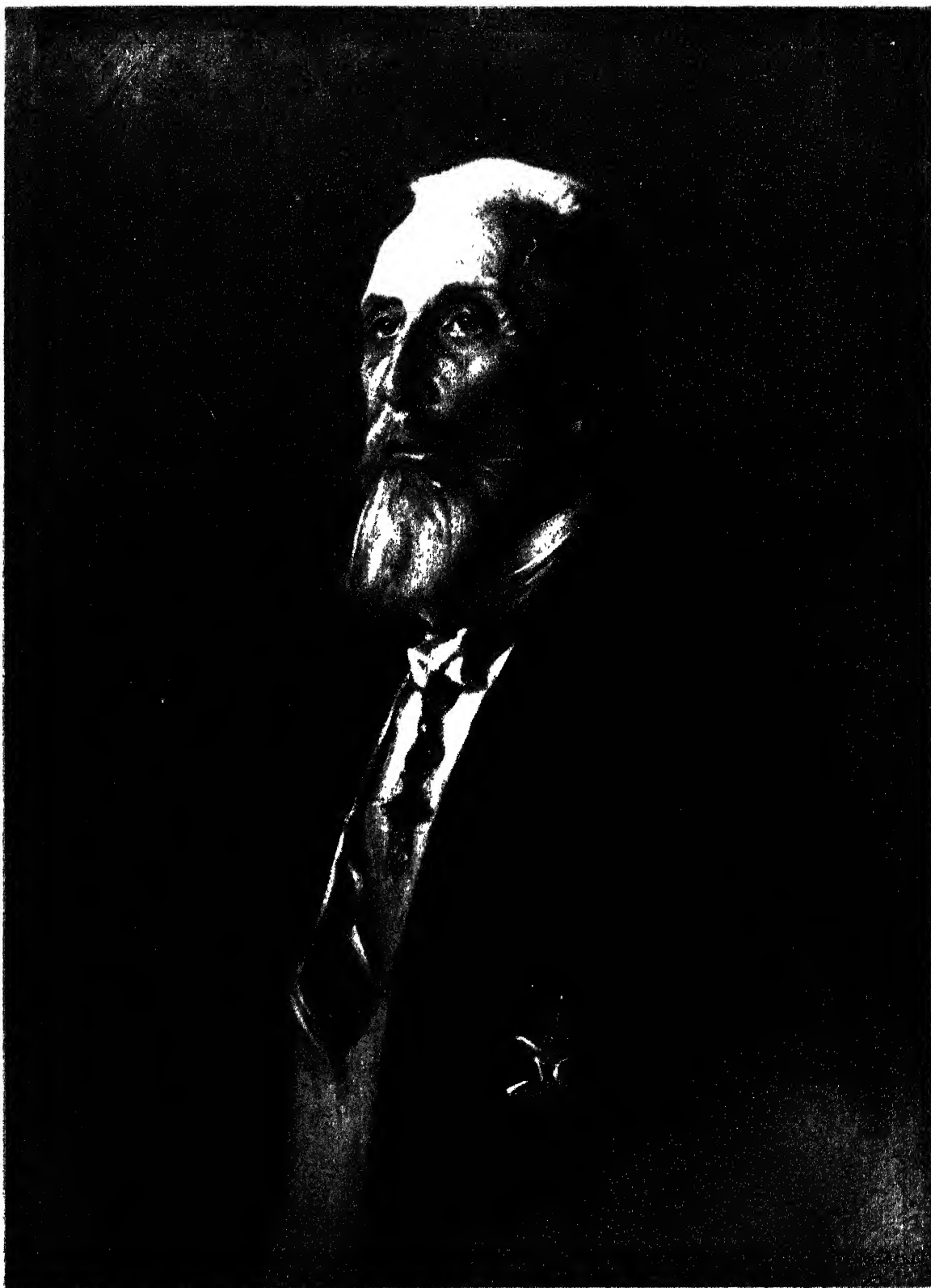
However, we have evidence that the other Party to the Treaty of Peace never for a moment proposed to seriously carry into effect the promises contained in the Covering Letter. This Covering Letter was dated May 6th., 1920. It was under the influence of the encouraging words contained in the Letter that, on June 4th., 1920, the Hungarian Delegates signed the Treaty of Trianon. Eighteen days later, on June 22nd., 1920, the Council of Ambassadors gave the Boundary Commissions instructions diametrically contradictory of the promises comprised in the Letter, strictly forbidding those Commissions to take into consideration any racial, religious or economic interests rendering necessary even the very slightest change of the frontiers fixed in the Treaty of Peace. Should any of our readers be unable to conceive the possibility of so enormous a measure of dishonest cajolement being employed in dealings with a downtrodden and unfortunate nation, we would refer him to the „Journal Officiel“ of the League of Nations, the 1922 issue of which contained the text of these secret instructions. It goes without saying that the secret instructions despatched by the Council of Ambassadors entirely ignored the existence of M. Millerand's Covering Letter.

4.

(In its details too the Trianon frontier is an insult to common sense.)

The above information has been corroborated by Gordon Ross, formerly Secretary General of the Commission appointed to trace the Hungarian-Czech frontier. In a letter published in the „Daily Mail“, Gordon Ross relates that, when the Commission began the work of tracing the frontier, it soon appeared that their instructions allowed of no other alternative than to trace the frontier exactly as fixed in the Treaty.

So they never had any intention of effecting any amendment of the original frontier line. The Hungarian Commissioners saw clearly enough that their task was a hopeless one; nevertheless they did not lose a single opportunity of requesting the alteration of the Trianon frontier drawn in such thoughtless haste. For in its details this frontier is just as great an insult to com-



Count Albert Apponyi, the great Hungarian champion of a fair revision of the peace treaties, whom the homage of the public opinion of Great Britain and America has dubbed „The Grand Old Man of Central Europe“. — Oil painting by Philip de László.

mon sense as it is as a whole. The Czechs happened to covet a certain railway line; to satisfy their covetousness the drafters of Trianon made a deep hole in a district inhabited exclusively by Magyars, and allotted hundreds of thousands of Magyars to Bohemia simply in order that the Czechs should not be compelled to build a new railway line. Sátorajauhely — a pure Magyar town — was cut in two simply in order to give the railway station to the Czechs. And the pure Magyar town of Komárom was also cut in two simply in order that the Czechs might be given a footing here on the Danube.

But the Trianon frontier has cut in two, not only Sátorajauhely and Komárom, but *no fewer than 215 Hungarian towns and villages.* In addition — *to the eternal shame of common sense and of the most elementary economic interests — it has cut in two no fewer than 2015 landed estates.* In innumerable cases the arable land is on one side, and the farm buildings on the other side, of the frontier.

The work of ploughing and sowing and harvesting has been made dependent upon diplomatic formalities. And we could add to these illustrations indefinitely.

5.

(Having in hundreds of cases applied in vain for a rectification of the frontier, the Hungarian Government in the end established the fact that from the Hungarian point of view the Covering Letter signed by M. Millerand had no value whatever.)

With frontiers of this character, the Hungarian Government had hundreds and

hundreds of opportunities of requesting the change of the frontier as stipulated by M. Millerand's Letter. Not in a single case did the Boundary Commission comply with the request of the Delegates of the Hungarian Government relating to the frontier between Hungary and Czecho-Slovakia and Rumania respectively.

On the other hand, the Commission for the investigation of the Hungarian-Yugoslav frontier in one single case did make an effort and, rejecting the objections of the Yugoslav Delegates, decided to propose to the League of Nations the restoration to Hungary of six Vend and twenty-eight pure Magyar frontier villages. As a consequence of the obstinate resistance of the Belgrade Government this intervention too failed to achieve any results. It is only in the case of Austria that the promises contained in the Covering Letter have had a slight effect. The Boundary Commission submitted to the League of Nations the objections to the Austrian frontier put forward by the Hungarian Government, and, in 50% of the cases, the League of Nations admitted the justice of the objections. On the other hand, the pampered Czechs, Rumanians and Serbians merely made fun of the promises comprised in M. Millerand's Letter. On that account after the completion of the work of the Boundary Commissions the Hungarian Commissioner made a declaration on behalf of his Government to the effect that *„from the Hungarian point of view the Covering Letter signed by M. Millerand had no value whatever“.*

PART FOUR.

A REVISION OF THE TREATY OF TRIANON IS A EUROPEAN INTEREST.

I.

PROGRESS TOWARDS A REVISION.

1.

(The Members of the Peace Conference reckoned in advance with the possibility of a peaceful revision of the Treaty.)

There are very many people in the world today who understand and appreciate the complaints of the Hungarian nation and themselves admit that Trianon was guilty of monstrous injustice against the Hungarian people. Yet, after making this admission they exclaim in despair, „But for the love of Heaven, tell us what the Hungarians want? A new War?“

Oh, dear no! *The Hungarians do not want a new War! Fortunately enough there*

is a way of effecting by peaceful means the reparation of the blunders and the injustice perpetrated by the drafters of the Treaty of Trianon. The treaty-makers themselves reckoned in advance with the probability of their being compelled sooner or later to revise the conditions drafted in such headlong haste. At the plenary session of the Peace Conference held on January 25th., 1919, President Wilson made the following statement: — „We know that the conditions of peace will sooner or later have to be revised and amended“. Another of the „Big Four“, Mr. Lloyd George, declared to George Földiák, one of the Budapest Managers of the British and Hungarian Bank, that at the

time when they were drafted everybody concerned admitted that the Treaties which had been concluded „would from time to time have to be amended in keeping with any facts and circumstances that may arise“. „We“ — continued Lloyd George — „all distinctly contemplated the possibility of certain clauses and provisions of the Treaties themselves being made a subject of discussion, adjudication, and possible revision by the great tribunal set up in the first clause of these Treaties — the League of Nations“.

And Article 19 of the Covenant of the League of Nations does indeed declare that „the Assembly may from time to time advise the re-consideration by Members of the League of treaties which have become inapplicable and the consideration of international conditions whose continuance might endanger the peace of the world“. The official British commentary on Article 19 of the Covenant to be found in Pollock's „The League of Nations“ also interprets that provision to mean that „the Covenant of the League of Nations does not wish to suggest that the new territorial adjustment should be regarded as sacred and unalterable; on the contrary, it has provided an organisation for a progressive adjustment of international affairs in keeping with future requirements“.

2.

(Quite Independently of Article 19 of the Covenant of the League of Nations, Hungary has a special claim to a revision of the Treaty of Trianon.)

We would note in this connection that Hungary claims a revision on special grounds too quite independent of the causes enumerated in Article 19 of the Covenant of the League of Nations, claiming namely that the injustices contained in the provisions of the Treaty of Trianon be redressed quite independently of the efforts for a revision made by other countries. This desire on the part of Hungary would be justified also by the fact, referred to above, that the Treaty of Trianon is the most ruthless and most unjust of all the treaties of peace. The loss suffered by Hungary is far greater than that of any other on the losing side in the Great War; and the suffering inflicted on Hungary is far more intolerable than that of any other of the defeated States. What we would emphasise at this point, however, is not that; we would note that the Treaty of Trianon was brought into being under circumstances differing altogether from those accompanying the conclusion of all the other treaties, so that this Treaty of Peace might most aptly be likened to a sentence based on the error of misled judges. By „judges“ we mean the representatives of the Great Powers, who had undertaken to appoint the legitimate claims of the neighbours coveting parts of

Hungary. In an earlier chapter we spoke of the manner in which the representatives of the Succession States employed the crassest tricks to mislead and delude the representatives of the Great Powers. And these judges delivered findings which they would certainly have shrunk from, had they known the real facts. On this basis Hungary is indubitably entitled to appeal against the sentence passed against her by misinformed judges, to a tribunal of well-informed judges. In this respect there is a radical difference between the question of the revision of the Treaty of Trianon and that of the revision of the Treaty of Versailles. The question of the revision of the Treaty of Versailles is a political question: the question of the revision of the Treaty of Trianon, on the other hand, is primarily a legal question. The Great Powers appointing the conditions of peace knew quite well what they wanted from Germany, and expressed their will in unequivocal terms in the treaty of peace. In respect of Hungary, however, they were taken in, deluded and misinformed; the result being that when drafting the Treaty of Trianon they did many things which they had originally never thought of doing. The question as to whether it is necessary to change the Treaty of Versailles, is a matter for political consideration. The revision of the Treaty of Trianon, on the other hand, is not a question of political reason only, but is a postulate of the most elementary sense of right and of justice.

3.

(As far back as 1920 France betrayed a readiness to further a revision of the Hungarian frontiers.)

The theory which would regard every letter of the Treaties of Peace as sacred and inviolable is an invention of recent times, and is not in keeping even with the views held by the framers of the treaties themselves. In 1920, for instance, France herself gave the Hungarian Government to understand that there was just a hope of an immediate revision.

Scarcely had the ink dried on the signatures of the Treaty of Trianon when, on July 24th., 1920, M. Fouchet, High Commissioner of France in Budapest, handed the Hungarian Government a Note in which the French Government officially declared its readiness to mediate between Hungary and the Succession States for the initiation of negotiations to be carried on for the purpose „of remedying certain economic and ethnographical injustices on the one hand, and on the other of supplementing the provisions already put into force for ensuring the protection of minorities“.

This means that, barely six weeks after the signing of the Treaty of Trianon, the official circles of France admitted officially that

the said Treaty was not calculated to further a friendly agreement between Hungary and her neighbours, that the Treaty was not unalterable, and that *the sole means of creating the atmosphere of peace so indispensable in Central Europe* was to carry into effect the changes promised in M. Millerand's Letter and *to effect a revision of the Treaty of Peace*. At the time when the offer was made, the French Government thought that it would need the support of Hungary to overcome the Bolshevik danger so imminently threatening Warsaw and Poland. When the danger passed, the readiness to mediate too ceased.

4.

(The Hungarian Government still desires to achieve the revision on the basis of the right of self-determination.)

Hungary, however, is still desirous to take the path the direction of which was fixed by the framers of the Treaties of Peace in Article 19 of the Covenant of the League of Nations. *We desire by peaceful negotiations to obtain the revision of that Treaty which is one of the greatest dangers to the cause of peace.* We do not know yet how — and before which forum — we shall have the opportunity to explain our wishes. But we can venture to prophesy *what will be the official attitude of Hungary in the event of any such negotiations being opened.* In the interview published in the „New York Times“ in November, 1930, Count Stephen Bethlen expressed this official attitude in the following terms: — „We desire the re-incorporation of those of our former nationals who are Magyars by race, as also the holding of a plebiscite in the former Hungarian territories to ascertain whether certain other nationalities desire to return to union with us or not.“

In other words, the official Hungarian attitude is the same as it was eleven years ago, during the peace negotiations: *Hungary is prepared to leave the definitive adjustment of the frontier question to be decided by the enforcement of the right of self-determination.*

5.

(The Idea of Revision is as old as the Treaty of Peace.)

The Hungarian Government and Hungarian public opinion trust that the transformation of the public spirit of the world will very soon render possible a reparation of the mistakes and the injustice comprised in the Treaty of Trianon. Everyone must admit that during the last eleven years the idea of a revision has made a by no means despicable advance in the public opinion of the world at large.

The fountain source of all our revision

endeavours — as everyone must admit — was the speech made before the Supreme Council, on January 16th., 1920, by Count Albert Apponyi, President of the Hungarian Peace Delegation, — a speech in which the Count prophesied that, if really put into force, the conditions of peace imposed upon Hungary would have fatal effects, not only upon Hungary, but upon the whole of Europe. „The dismemberment of Hungary is incompatible with the idea of the reconstruction of Europe and the consolidation of European conditions“, were his words, which today ring like the words of a soothsayer.

When Apponyi made this speech, Clémenceau had already safely ensconced in his drawer the memorandum written by Lloyd George and entitled „Some Reflections for the Use of the Peace Conference before finally drafting the Conditions“, which contains the following passages: *„There will be no peace in South-Eastern Europe, if each one of the little States now coming into being has a strong group of Magyar irredentists within its frontiers... As far as that is humanly possible, I should wish to regard as the fundamental principle of the Treaty the stipulation that the several races should be incorporated in their own mother countries“.*

The British Peace Delegation was already engaged behind the scenes in a bitter conflict against the idea of a treaty with arbitrary conditions championed by Clémenceau, Tardieu and Poincaré. Many of the statements made by Lloyd George show that he did not take the whole treaty business seriously, since he believed that the absurd provisions would in any case come under revision in a year or two. By this time Professor Keynes, Member of the British Peace Delegation, had already written his work entitled „The Economic Consequences of the Peace“, in which he pointed out the destructive consequences that must result from the ignorant and slipshod adjustment of Europe effected in Paris.

In the hatred-saturated atmosphere in which the conditions of the Treaty of Trianon were drafted, there was no room for sober judgment or mature reflection. Hungary was compelled to sign and ratify unchanged the conditions of peace which had been handed to her first.

6.

(The debate in Parliament on the incorporation of the Treaty of Trianon was seasoned with damning criticism.)

During the debates accompanying the incorporation in law of the Treaty of Trianon, energetic voices were raised once more in protest against the injustice perpetrated therein against Hungary. As already stated,

even in the French Chamber there were misgivings, which the official circles endeavoured to dissipate by referring to the promises contained in Millerand's Letter. A still more definitely critical attitude was shown by the British Parliament, where severe attacks were made against the treaty of Trianon even before the ratification debate. On March 25th., 1920, *Captain Elliott* took the field on behalf of Hungary; the cause of that country being espoused in the House of Lords, on March 30th., by *Lord Newton*, *Viscount Bryce*, *Lord Montagu*, *Lord Sydenham*, *Lord Weardale*, and the *Marquess of Crewe*. In May, 1921, during the debate on the ratification Bill, a group of 60 Members of Parliament demanded that the ratification should be refused. The same procedure was adopted in the House of Lords by Lord Newton, Viscount Bryce, and Lord Phillimore. The only argument Lord Curzon, Foreign Secretary, could put forward in support of the ratification, was the promise contained in the Covering Letter signed by M. Millerand.

The most radical attitude adopted towards the Treaty of Trianon was that of the American Parliament. It simply refused to ratify that Treaty; and the United States of North America made a separate peace with Hungary.

7.

(The Succession States too feel that they cannot retain all that was allotted to them by Trianon.)

The idea of a revision of the Treaty still continued to develop. It could not be dismissed even by the conquerors and the States most immediately concerned. We have already spoken of the official offer made by France a few days after the signing of the Treaty of Trianon, — an offer to mediate for the purpose of redressing the most crying territorial grievances. The Succession States too have realised that an unexpected good fortune has allotted them too much, and that no one of common sense could possibly reckon on their retaining all the territory they had received. Benesch himself admitted this fact indirectly during a recent interview with a journalist, in which he said that he no longer thought of restoring those territories which a few years ago he would have been ready to re-annex to Hungary. And President Masaryk has declared on several occasions that he might be inclined to discuss the question of the restoration of bits of territory with a predominantly Magyar population. Statements to that effect were made by him on October 28th., 1927, on the Czech national holiday, and on September 29th., 1930, to a correspondent of the London General Press. It is evident that in this question there is a vast difference of opinion in matters of principle

between the President of the Czecho-Slovak Republic and his Foreign Minister.

8.

(Development of the idea of revision.)

During the years immediately following the signing of the Treaties of Peace, comparatively little was said of the Treaty of Trianon. Nevertheless, during this period too there were far-sighted politicians and conscientious journalists who wrote articles and books on behalf of the cause of Hungary and to advocate the necessity of a revision of the Treaties of Peace. The members of the present British Government, for instance, at that time took a fairly decided stand in the matter, engaging themselves on the side of the revisionists. At a meeting of the Labour Party held at Liverpool in September, 1925, MacDonald declared that if the Labour Party again came into power, the Treaty of Versailles would have to be revised: „it is a Peace which in its effects is worse than the War was“. In a speech made on February 25th., 1924, the British Foreign Secretary, Henderson, said that „the statesmen of the Allied Powers who represented their countries in Paris had failed to bring into being a just and lasting peace, the provisions of the Treaty of Versailles being veritable parodies of history. It was the duty of the Government to bring into being a real peace“.

The interest in the injustice incorporated in the Treaty of Trianon became far more general when Lord Rothermere began his campaign of enlightenment in favour of a revision of the Treaty in the „Daily Mail“ and the other papers under his control. There ensued a violent controversy between Lord Rothermere and Benesch; in the papers under his control Lord Rothermere published a whole series of articles advocating the cause of Hungary which diverted the attention of international public opinion to the gaping wounds inflicted on that country. And by this campaign Lord Rothermere earned the undying gratitude and devoted affection of the Hungarian people.

The action initiated and carried on by Lord Rothermere reacted vigorously on the public opinion of Hungary. That public opinion has ever since continued its campaign of protest against the Treaty of Trianon, without a moment's pause. At first this work was in the hands of the Territorial Defence (Integrity) League; later on the work of enlightenment was carried on against the injustices contained in the Treaty of Peace by the Hungarian National Union. The appearance in the arena of Lord Rothermere was followed by the establishment of the Hungarian Revision League, which still continues with unswerving determination to proclaim the necessity and inevitability of a revision of the Treaty of Peace.

(Revision as official Government programme.)

This brings us to the decisive period in which *the demand for a revision was transferred from newspaper articles and theoretical discussions to the official programme of certain Governments. Mussolini was the first in the field here: in a statement made to Lord Rothermere on March 27th., 1928, in his capacity as Premier of Italy he officially enunciated the principle that „no treaty can be a tomb“.* Shortly after, in his exposé dealing with foreign affairs delivered on June 5th., 1927, Mussolini once more expressed this attitude in an official statement. „*No treaty has ever been everlasting, — he said in this speech — „for the world progresses, while peoples come into being, develop and decline and sometimes die. To make any treaty everlasting would mean converting humanity in a given moment by some monstrous wonder into a mummy, — would mean that humanity was dead! Hungary may reckon upon Italy's friendship. It must be admitted that the measures of the Treaty of Trianon have cut too deep into the living flesh of the Hungarian nation. It may be added, moreover, that for a thousand years Hungary had been fulfilling a very important historical mission in the valley of the Danube. The Hungarian people loves its fatherland ardently; it knows its own power; and has done persevering and industrious work in times of peace. This people deserved a better lot at the hands of Fate“.* This was the first time the demand for a revision had been made part of the official programme of a Great Power. The attitude taken up by Mussolini aroused echoes of sincere sympathy among all classes of the population of all those Italian politicians who have earned our gratitude by espousing the just cause of Hungary. To refer, just at haphazard, to one of the many: Arrigo Salmi, the eminent professor in the University of Pavia and Member of the Italian Parliament, has written, for instance, as follows: — „*The hour is not far distant when the Hungarians will be able to enforce their demands for restitution: for the fulfilment of these demands is in the interests of European*

peace and of international justice“. Dino Alfieri, Secretary of State and Member of the Grand Council, in 1928 made the following statement: — „*Of all peoples it is we Italians who understand best the feelings of the Hungarians; for the revision movement in Hungary is very similar to our own irredenta movement carried on by us for the redemption of those of our brethren who, though speaking our tongue, were groaning under a foreign yoke. I am convinced of the justice of Hungary's cause and sure of its triumph.“* After the Hague Conference and the definitive settlement of the reparations question, Germany too put in a more decided claim for a revision. In the speech made on October 20th., 1930, which made such a stir, Curtius for the first time declared the demand for a revision to be the official programme of his Government, making a statement to the effect that „*certain parts of the Treaty of Versailles could not be accepted as the eternal laws of Europe“.*

Today, therefore, the Hungarian Government is not the only Government in Europe officially standing for a revision. And in the countries demanding a revision people are gratified to see that under the influence of the gradual evolution of the public temper of Europe French public opinion too is beginning to change its attitude. In France too voices are being heard more and more frequently proclaiming the recognition of the conviction that it is not in the interest of France either to maintain the state of things in force today, which with a fatal inevitability is driving the nations of Europe into two camps divided by an antagonism menacing the peace of the world. This conviction has been voiced already by active politicians such as Daladier, Col. Hervé, Léon Blum and others; and in view of the ferment in evidence among the most eminent representatives of the French intellectual world, *there is reason to hope that the public opinion of Great Britain, Italy and America will before long be endorsed by the development of a current of thought in French public opinion too that will enlist political forces on the side of the idea of revision.*

II.**A BAD PEACE MEANS A NEW WAR.****1.****(The Treaty of Trianon a danger to the peace of Europe.)**

And now we must say something regarding the terrible danger to Europe latent in the Treaty of Trianon. History teaches us that a bad and unjust peace has always led to a

new war. *Every peace aiming at hindering the natural development of nations and countries has been followed with inexorable certainty by a fresh upheaval.*

The Treaty of Trianon is therefore pregnant with the seeds of a new war. This fact has been established by political authorities the soundness of whose judgment is

beyond dispute. *Robert Lansing*, for instance, who was Secretary of State in Wilson's Government, in his book entitled „*The Peace Negotiations*“ says that „*the Treaties of Peace are the seeds of a new war; that is as certain as that night is followed by day*“. In his book entitled „*The Seeds of War*“, *Robert Birkhill* says the same; so does *Jean Desthieux* in his book entitled „*La paix n'est pas encore faite*“ (Peace has not been Made Yet). In his „*Une erreur diplomatique*“ (A Diplomatic Blunder), *Charles Tisseyre* declares openly that „*this is no peace, only the spark to start a fresh conflagration*“.

„*Peace ceased on the day when the Treaty of Versailles was signed*“, said *Baldwin* too, who later on succeeded *Lloyd George* as Prime Minister of Great Britain. „*This Peace is not the work of statesmen*“, declared *Asquith*: „*it has neither sense nor value. This is not the genuine Peace to put an end to all wars in the future*“.

We could continue the series of quotations of the kind *ad infinitum*. But we will in conclusion refer only to the statement of *Clémenceau*, the „father“ of the Paris Treaties, who after the Treaties had been signed condensed his opinion in one short and expressive sentence — „*these treaties of peace will make the War continue indefinitely*“.

2.

(The Little Entente a Military Alliance against Hungary.)

But there should be no mistake about the matter: it is not we Hungarians who desire this new War; it is not we who are longing for, or making preparations for, this new War.

Notwithstanding the atrocious injustice which we have suffered, it is not we who threaten the peace of Europe, — but those neighbouring States which, after greedily and ruthlessly going shares in the territory of Hungary, are plagued by a bad conscience that makes them perceive no other means of retaining their unlawful spoil than the sword and brute force. Not content with the Treaty of Trianon having completely disarmed Hungary and rendered her utterly defenceless, these neighbouring States, fearing to lose their spoil, have made an offensive and defensive alliance against our country. That was the origin of the Little Entente, the only *raison d'être* of which is fear of the power of the justice of Hungary's cause and hatred of the Hungarian nation. In an earlier chapter we have seen that the Treaty of Trianon permits Hungary to maintain an army of only 35.000 men, whereas her neighbours — who hate her bitterly — are in a position to put in the field in peace time an army of 542.000. and in the event of mobilisation actually

4,365.000 men, against the small State of Hungary encircled by a ring of enemies. *Such a disproportion of forces is always the greatest danger of peace. The danger is aggravated by the fact that the open treaties made by the Little Entente have been supplemented by secret military conventions. In these secret conventions, renewed in April and May, 1929, the Little Entente has not only provided against an attack on either of the signatories by Hungary; the conventions contain military measures also to be taken in the event of either of the contracting Parties being attacked by any other foreign Power, and of Hungary immediately declaring herself neutral. The contracting Parties are required to mobilise at once against even a neutral Hungary, to occupy the Hungarian frontier, and to take any other military measures which they may consider necessary.*

Now everyone knows that in such cases the mere occupation of the frontier is a danger to peace. *For loaded weapons have a knack of going off; and mobilised armies have a way of marching forward. However, the term „other military measures“ evidently means the occupation of certain parts of Hungary or even of the whole country. And remember! this is to be done even in the event of Hungary immediately declaring her neutrality.*

It is quite evident that a disarmed Hungary could do very little against such military measures, which actually threaten to include occupation. *However, the independent existence of Hungary, the maintenance intact of the sovereignty of Hungary, is today the interest also of several other Powers. These Powers are not likely to look on with folded arms, if the States of the Little Entente — whose unparalleled military predominance finds in the defenceless situation of Hungary an attraction as powerful as that which draws air into airless space — should attempt to use force against the remaining territory of Hungary. Well, here you have Trianon as a great danger to the peace of Europe! and this is why Trianon contains the seeds of a new Great War!!*

An exhaustive description of the secret military convention of the Little Entente was published on September 5th., 1930, by the „*Journal de Geneve*“, of Geneva, the „*Popolo d'Italia*“, of Milan, and the „*Pesti Hirlap*“, of Budapest. *The reports published in the three newspapers tallied exactly, and have not been denied since. And indeed there was no possibility of denying them, seeing that every word of the reports was true. Readers will remember in this connection that Article 18 of the Covenant of the League of Nations provides that „every treaty or international agreement entered into hereafter by any Member of the League shall be forthwith registered with the Sec-*

retariat and shall as soon as possible be published by it." With their knowledge of the contents of secret military conventions, readers will not be at all surprised to hear that not one of the Little Entente States has thought of complying with the obligation thus devolving upon it. Nothing has been farther from their thoughts than to register their secret military agreements with the Secretariat. And this is merely one of the instances of the manner in which the Little Entente complies with its international obligations.

3.

(„Justice for Hungary!“)

It is a service to Europe and the great universal interests of mankind to ring alarm-bells everywhere and announce that *those who love peace and desire peace must be enemies to the Treaty of Trianon and to the injustices committed by that Treaty*. Maybe we shall not be considered immodest for noting in this connection that the „Pesti Hirlap“ too has endeavoured to take its due share of the great work of enlightening international public opinion. *Entirely out of its own resources, without being influenced by outside factors or assisted by official circles, it has published the album entitled „Justice For Hungary!“ — issued in five languages, in Hungarian, English, French, Italian and German — the third (revised and enlarged) edition of which is now in the reader's hands.*

The first copies of the album were despatched in September, 1930, to the Members of the Assembly of the League of Nations then in session, as also to the most eminent intellectual and political personalities all over the world. Thousands of letters have been received from the addressees, all proving that the work we have done has not been in vain. It was with full satisfaction and feelings of profound joy that we read the declarations reaching us from all parts of the world which have shown us that every unbiassed reader of our album „Justice

For Hungary!“ has been captivated by the spell of the justice of our cause. *For each one of our readers has arrived at the conviction that a monstrous injustice has been done to Hungary, and that that injustice must without fail be repaired. Very many of our correspondents have expressed their astonishment at it having been possible to maintain the Treaty of Trianon even so far in force. We have seen that those who have read this album have become friends to Hungary. For those who are friends to justice cannot fail to be friends to Hungary too.*

The success thus achieved naturally made us feel that we were not entitled to abandon what we had begun under such encouraging auspices; but that the work had to be continued. The first edition of the album was very soon exhausted. And we are still receiving numbers of applications from persons who have heard about the album and would have copies of their own. So we had to provide a fresh supply, — a new edition. And we have availed ourselves of the opportunity to revise the first edition and to make the appeal of the album more complete and more convincing.

So we continue to progress in the path which we entered originally. We feel that the choice of the path was a good one. For it is not from the force of arms or from a new war that Hungary hopes to obtain the reparation of the injustice perpetrated by the Treaty of Trianon. *That reparation she expects to result from the awakening of the world's conscience, — from her cause being espoused in every country alike by all well-intentioned and unbiassed persons, — from the development of a resulting international public opinion which will ultimately be strong enough to achieve the revision of the Treaty of Trianon despite the reluctance of the parties concerned.*

We beg the reader to join the advocates of the cause of justice! and to be an apostle of our cause, which is so clearly the cause of justice and honour!

SUPPLEMENT.

WE SHOULD BELIEVE HUNGARIAN STATISTICS!

1.

(Hungarian Statistics are compiled in the most up-to-date manner and in accordance with the strictest principles of justice.)

Finally, we would note that the figures referred to in the present work have been taken from the Hungarian Statistical Year-book of 1910. This procedure is a natural one, if only because the 1910 Census was the

last statistical survey taken before the Great War and because we are investigating the changes made in the pre-War conditions. However, this procedure on our part is rendered comprehensible also by the fact that *in respect of the ethnographical conditions prevailing in the territories cut off from Hungary the only reliable data are those shown by the results of the last pre-War Hungarian Census. For ever since 1880, the Hungarian*

Censuses have observed the most up-to-date and most equitable principles in connection with the designation of race, having accepted as criterion of race or nationality the mother tongue of each person, the term „mother tongue“ to be taken to mean that language which each person, when filling up the census papers, declares without the interference of any influence from without to be his own. At the Congress of the International Statistical Institute held at Cairo from December 29th., 1927, to January 5th., 1928, there was a strong movement in favour of recommending the employment of this principle of the Hungarian Census for adoption by the nationality States.

2.

(Czechs, Rumanians and Serbs deliberately falsify the ethnographical data.)

In the Succession States, however, it is quite useless for a national who is Magyar by tongue and Hungarian in feeling to declare himself to be a Magyar; such a declaration is not accepted in every case. *Here too the method of so-called „name analysis“ — of which we have spoken already — is employed.* Persons whose names do not according to official opinion sound Magyar — or whose parents or grandparents include a single person with a foreign-sounding name — may protest as much as they like; their demands are refused, and they are not entered in the census papers as Magyars. They are entered as Slovaks, Ruthenians, Rumanians, or Serbians respectively.

The Censuses of all the Succession States alike have been falsified by the „name analysis“ procedure. But this procedure is only one of the means employed for falsifying the statistical surveys. *The results have been falsified independently also by the use of intimidation and the abuse of official authority.*

Who are the persons most competent to judge the value from an ethnographical point of view of the Censuses of the Succession States? *Why, the interested minorities themselves, of course.* The Census in Yugoslavia was taken during the night between March 31st. and April 1st., 1931 — at a time when our book was already in the press. Consequently we are not in a position to deal with this Census in detail; the most we can do is to note that *the Census taken in Yugoslavia by the dictatorship established for the furtherance of extreme Serb nationalism is certainly not a jot more trustworthy than that taken by the „constitutional“ Government in power 10 years ago. And the violence and corruption accompanying the Census taken 10 years ago are already fully familiar to the whole world.*

In Rumania and Czecho-Slovakia the Census was taken in the closing weeks of

1930. In both cases we are already in a position to submit the views of the interested minorities concerning the manner in which the Censuses were effected.

In Rumania, after several other protests of the kind had been made, on February 9th., 1931, Joseph. Willer, Deputy belonging to the Magyar Party, asked the Minister of the Interior a question revealing shocking details. He complained that at the recent Census held in Rumania it had been the fashion for the scrutineers to simply forge the census papers of the Magyar inhabitants. When employing the method of „name-analysis“ the scrutineers had even ventured to rumanise the names with a Magyar sound merely in order to be able to write down the owners of these names as Rumanians. In the County of Háromszék the names of distinctively Magyar families such as Keresztes, Szűcs, Mátyás and Kádár had been distorted into Rumanian names, and the members of ancient Magyar families entered as Rumanians. In the County of Temes and Torontál the Commissary, Sabulescu, had simply torn up the papers — birth and baptismal and marriage certificates — of the Magyars. In many places the Magyars had simply been omitted from the census lists. At Szatmár the authorities had refused to allow a priest of the name of Valentine Magyar (whose very name shows his origin) to declare himself to be Magyar. At Kolozsvár the authorities had attempted to terrorise the citizens after the Census was over and to „persuade“ them to declare themselves to be Rumanians, not Magyars. After having said all this, Willer demanded that the Rumanian Government should ordain a fresh survey in the districts where such means had been employed. The demand was naturally made in vain. For the data obtained in this manner were just what the Rumanian Government wanted!!

The happenings in Czecho-Slovakia were of a similar character, so that *the Magyar deputies sitting in the Czecho-Slovak Parliament have sent in a petition to the League of Nations in which they have contested the results of the Census. A whole series of questions have been asked in the Czecho-Slovak Parliament by deputies in protest against the abuses committed.* For instance, *Törköly, a deputy belonging to the Magyar National Party, on February 6th., 1931, made a violent attack on the Census. He told the House that the most ruthless force had been employed during the taking of the Census in the mixed-language areas of Slovenia and Ruthenia. In many places only gendarmes and excise-men had acted as scrutineers. The scrutineers had everywhere employed the „name analysis“ method dealt with in a previous chapter; and Magyars with names sounding Slovak had been included among the Slovaks. In Ruthenia the Magyars belonging to*

the Greek Catholic Church had been entered as Ruthenians. Hungarians professing the Jewish faith had been ordered to declare themselves to be Jews, and not Magyars. The Jews of Munkács had been fined sums of 1000—2000 Czech crowns for having entered their nationality as „Magyar“. There had been similar cases at Ungvár, Kassa, Rimaszombat and numerous other places in the country. Whole villages had been entered against their will as Slovaks. Törköly made special mention of the case of the village of Hetény. *More than four thousand complaints had been sent in to the Magyar parties in Czecho-Slovakia.*

Törköly was able to make all these statements in the Prague Parliament without being exposed to the risk of any serious refutation. Everything seems to point to the present Census being a repetition of the wonderful 1921 Census. For in 1921, when the results of the census papers collected in Prague were added up, it was found that *the Census showed a larger number of Slovaks in Czecho-Slovakia than the aggregate number of persons in the said territory who know Slovak.*

3.

(What object have the Succession States in view when they falsify the statistics? and what is the number of inhabitants of the territories cut off from Hungary whose mother tongue is Magyar?)

The answer to the first question — relating to the object of the Succession States in falsifying the statistical surveys — is an easy and a simple one: *the object is to show as small a proportion of minorities — and primarily of Magyars — as possible among the inhabitants of their territories, thereby cajoling and misleading the well-intentioned public opinion of foreign countries.* As we have shown in the foregoing sections of our book, from a nationality point of view the aspect presented by the Succession States is an extremely many-hued one; the Czechs

and the Serbs are in a minority in their own countries: and even the proportion of the Rumanian majority cannot be described as a particularly favourable one. It is this fact that the Succession States would like to hide from the outside world, *desiring to convey to public opinion abroad the idea that they are a very near approach to the ideal of States of a uniform character in respect of nationality.* That is why they have to falsify the statistical surveys.

And the number of persons whose mother tongue is Magyar living today in the territories cut off from Hungary? The data utilised by us in the present work, on the basis of the 1910 Hungarian Census, have told us how many Magyars were living in those districts twenty years ago. As to the number of such today, — we can only compute the same by inference, seeing that after what has been said above it must seem natural to everyone that we should refuse to accept as authoritative the latest statistical data supplied by the Succession States.

According to the 1910 Census, there were 3,424,000 Magyars living in the territories which ten years later were cut off from the mother country. Twenty years have passed since that Census was taken. *Taking into account the average coefficient of increase of the Magyar race, we may compute the increase of the Magyars at roughly 20% — i. e. at about 680,000 souls.* That means that in 1930 there must have been 4,100,000 Magyars in the territories in question. We must however take into account also the fact that during the last ten years Magyars have been expelled wholesale from each of the Succession States. *We may compute the number of persons thus expelled at roughly 300,000. Consequently, the number of Magyars actually living today in the severed territories may be estimated at about 3,700,000—3,800,000. If the statistical data of the Succession States show a smaller number, those data are simply not telling the truth.*

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**THE HISTORY AND
CULTURE OF HUNGARY
AGAINST THE TREATY
OF TRIANON.**

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THE HISTORY AND CULTURE OF HUNGARY AGAINST THE TREATY OF TRIANON.

The following pages contain reproductions of works of art reminding us of the stirring history of Hungary, together with illustrations showing the monuments of Hungarian culture. These illustrations conjure up to our minds the glories, the sufferings and the struggles, the cultural values, of a thousand years of history, — showing us the pageant of the whole story of the Hungarian nation.

What has this history to say to the Treaty of Trianon? Is there anything to be found in the history of the past thousand years to motivate — from the point of view of the general development of Europe and the peoples — the dismemberment effected by Trianon, and to make comprehensible the ruthless cruelty with which the readjusters of Europe severed the life-arteries of the Hungarian nation? Has the Hungarian nation proved a useful and valuable member of the cultural community of the European peoples? Has it represented a new value in the family of European peoples? Has it had a culture of its own introducing fresh colour and fresh shades of colour into the great cultural community of the civilised peoples?

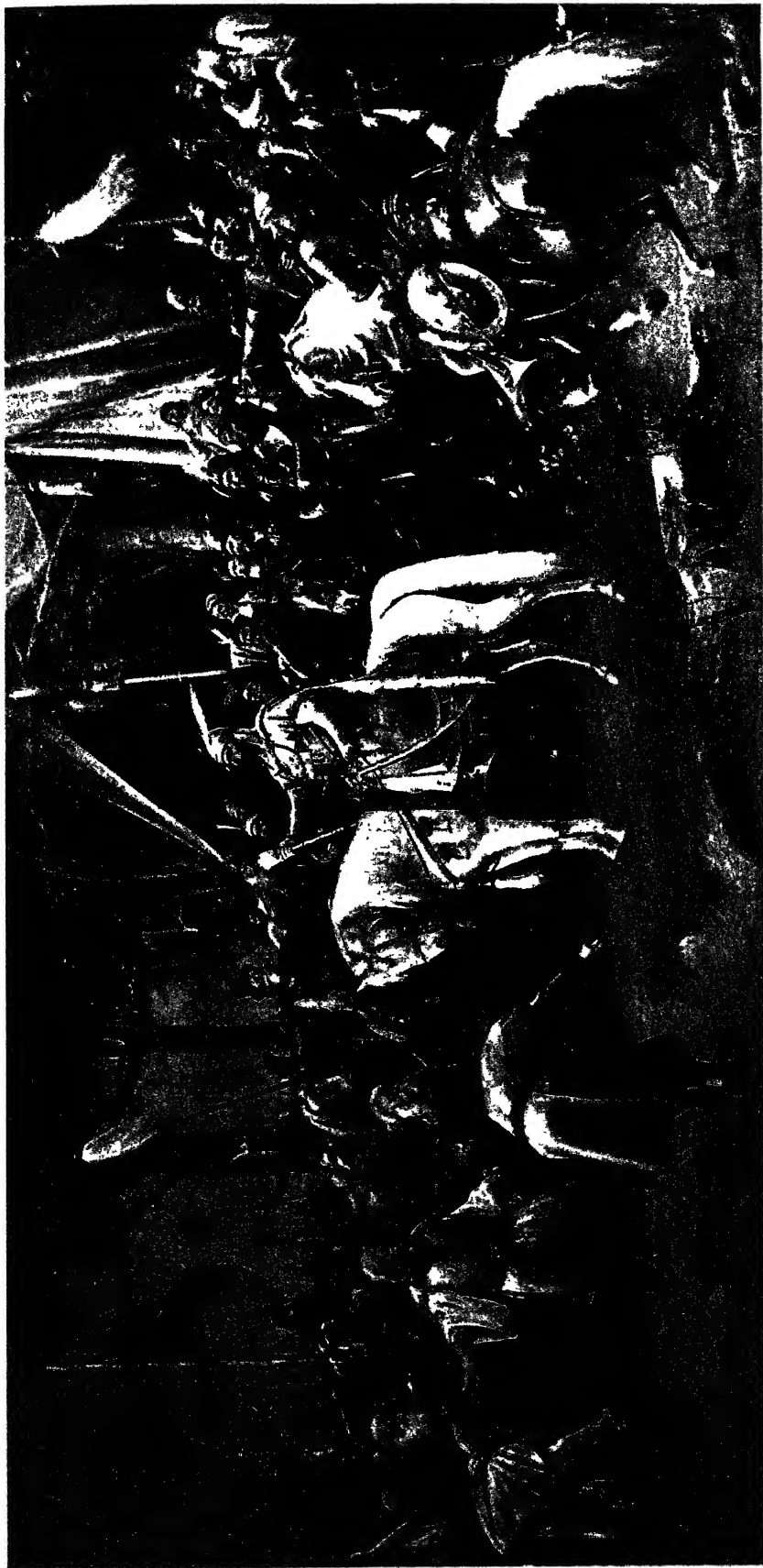
These questions must be answered by Hungarian history.

Following in the wake of the Huns and Avars, driven West by the weltering human waves of the migration of the peoples, *at the close of the ninth century of the Christian era the Magyars made their appearance in the country in which they live today.* This was the last important swell of the ocean of the Great Migration. The new people had come from the mysterious depths of Asia and, after resting for periods of varying duration at several points on their way, had entered the arena of history. Historians compute the aggregate number of persons belonging to the Magyar clans or tribes which poured into Hungary through the Pass of Verecke at not more than one hundred thousand, — including children, women and old men. This means that not more than one quarter of the Magyars entering the country as conquerors — *not more than 25,000* — can have been warriors. How was it possible for this tiny people in a few years to occupy and take possession of the whole territory of the Hungary known to history? Because there was no important organised State power in the whole territory. *Merely because the Hungarian people did not find any considerable organised group of peoples in the territory which it subsequently retained in*

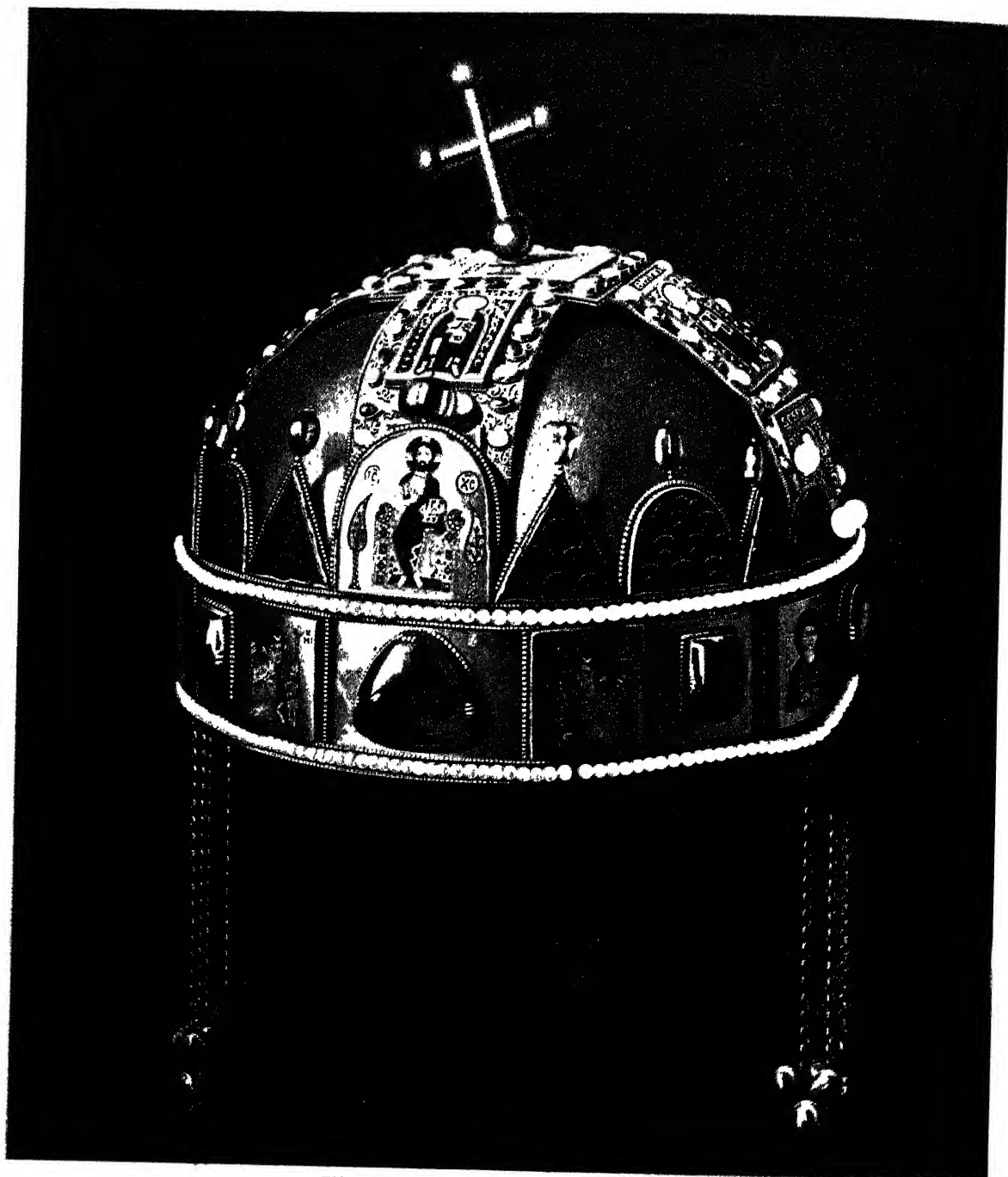
its possession for over a thousand years. Apart from scattered bodies of Avars, remains of the earlier occupation, the only inhabitants living in the territory encircled by the ring of the Carpathians were sporadic groups of Slavs.

The Magyar conquerors found themselves in an unorganised chaos of Old Slavonian and Pannonian Slav tribes with an admixture of fractions of other peoples; but they utterly failed to find any trace of the Slav Empire dreamed of by Czech historians and by Denes, the slavophile French professor. The semicircular mountainous regions were then covered with dense forests. For the most part these regions were an unpopulated, desert wilderness. Even beyond the „Igfő Forest“ — the Királyhágó (King's Pass) of today — it was only in the central district with its wide sweep of open country that there was any likelihood of the Magyars finding any inhabitants; any population they may have found there must have been very sporadic too. *But they certainly never found any trace whatsoever of those certain „Dacians“ whom the conceit of the Rumanians of today would lead us to believe were the descendants of the Romans and their own ancestors.*

For centuries after the withdrawal from Dacia and Pannonia of the Western Roman Empire, unrest and uncertainty had ruled supreme in this territory. The Roman rule had been followed by the dominion of the Huns; while after the fall of the Hun Empire, for some hundred years Goths, Lombards and Gepidae (Germanic tribes) had attempted to obtain a footing in the country. Their efforts had proved futile! A slightly greater power of resistance was shown by the Empire of the Avars, a people racially akin to the Magyars. But this Empire too fell to pieces when attacked by Charlemagne. On the South the Bulgarians, on the North the Poles, and in the West the Moravians, were watching for an opportunity to anticipate the Germanic tribes and obtain possession of the fertile territory between the Danube and the Tisza. *Hungary was then the scene of a prelude to the rivalry between German and Slav which has lasted down to our own times; by their appearance on the scene and by their settlement in the disputed territory, the Magyar conquerors prevented both the Slavs and the Germanic tribes from seizing the country surrounded by the Carpathians and protected by mighty rivers, and there, in the very heart of Europe, establishing a stronghold for the slavisation or*



In the last decade of the ninth century a new people appeared in the arena of Europe: in the autumn of 895 the Magyars who had moved out of the district called "Etelköz" (between the Dnieper and the Szereth) passed over the Pass of Verecke into the disrupted country of the Avars, penetrating to the plains flanking the Tisza, and forcing the various remnants of divers peoples to submit to them; and then, under the leadership of Arpad, in five years they created the State of Hungary in the basin encircled by the Carpathians. For a thousand years this people clung unswervingly to the inheritance bequeathed them by Arpad, becoming the champion of the Christian culture of the West and keeping guard heroically for centuries at the gateway of the East to protect the civilised Occident and Christendom against all pagan attacks from without. In these struggles lasting for centuries the Magyar people on two occasions almost bled to death, — once during the Tartar invasion, and again on the field of Mohács, fighting against Islam. In return for their loyalty and self-sacrifice, the civilised Occident gave the Hungarians the Treaty of Trianon, whereby the thousand-years-old body of the Hungarian State was cut into pieces, the greater part thereof being distributed in lots — in defiance of human law and of historical justice — among new, mock States without a past which in respect of culture had remained far below the level of the ancient Kingdom of Hungary. Michael Munkácsy, the greatest painter of last century, was commissioned by the Hungarian Government to paint a picture commemorating the Millennium of Hungary (1896); the result being the canvas of enormous dimensions representing the Occupation of Hungary by the Magyars. The picture shows the delegates of the Slav and other tribes paying homage to Arpad (on the white horse). Arpad and most of the members of his following were modelled by Munkácsy after eminent men figuring in the public life of Hungary in the nineties of last century. The picture is now hung in the reception room of the Speaker of the Lower House.



The Holy Crown of Hungary.

The most sacred relic belonging to the Hungarian nation. It consists of two separate sections. The upper part was presented to St. Stephen, King of Hungary, in 1000 A. D., by Pope Silvester II., in commemoration of the Hungarians joining the community of nations embracing Western civilisation. The lower part, an open crown, was presented to King Géza I. by the Greek Emperor Michael Dukas, in token of the gratitude of the Eastern Empire for the cultural efforts made by Hungary. The four hoops of the Silvester crown are ornamented with enamel images of eight apostles set between precious stones, with an enamel figure of Christ on the top, just below the cross. There are enamel images also on the spiked and round gablets of the lower — Byzantine — crown: in the front, in the centre, is the image of Christ the Redeemer, and at the back, just opposite, the figure of the Emperor Michael Dukas. On the rim of this crown may be seen the enamel figures of the Crown Prince Constantine, King Géza, St. Demetrius, St. George, St. Gabriel, St. Damio and St. Kozma. The Holy Crown is the depository of the supreme power of the State. No one can be King of Hungary until his brow has been touched by the Holy Crown. The Lands of the Holy Crown of Hungary were united in the Holy Crown for a thousand years until torn asunder by the Treaty of Trianon and forced into unnatural unions.



St. Stephen, first King of the Hungarians, founder of the thousandyear-old Hungarian State, who made his people embrace the culture of the West, — being converted to Christianity. — Painging by Gyula Benczur. (C. Könyves Kálmán, Budapest.)

germanisation respectively of Europe and the conquest of the world.

It will be seen, therefore, that in the very first moment of their appearance in Europe the Magyars were accomplishing a historical mission by holding that balance between the power of the Slav and the Germanic peoples in Europe which they maintained for over a thousand years.

How was it that the Magyars succeeded in doing what the Huns, the Goths, the Lombards and the Avars failed to accomplish? How was it that they were able to create an empire that stood the test of centuries in a territory in which so many other attempts had ended in collapse? *The secret of this success is the political ability of the Magyars — their ability to establish a State and their instinctive grasp of the requirements without which they would be unable to maintain that State in existence. The replacement of the loose clan system by a stronger organisation, the cessation of the marauding expeditions which had kept Western Europe in a state of constant unrest, the break with Asia and the adherence to Western civilisation resulting from the adoption of the Christian faith, — all these changes ensued during the first century following the settlement of the Magyars in Europe.* The failure to take either of these steps would have ended in destruction, — as the Huns, Goth, and Avars who had been in advance of the Magyars had perished and found their destruction. The crowning stage of this development was the *establishment of a kingdom by St. Stephen.* The new State thus established by St. Stephen was in many respects similar to the form of government then prevailing in Europe, — viz. the feudal State —, though it showed several qualities that differentiated it from the same. *St. Stephen considerably extended the sphere of authority of the central power, subordinating everyone to the power of the King. The sole power was vested in the Crown; and the relation between the centre and the various parts of the country — between the King and the lords governing the provinces — was regulated, not by civil, but by public law.* The subordinate relation in civil law forming the basis of the central power in medieval France, Germany and Italy, was unknown in Hungary. *We see here the germs of an absolutely new, peculiar political development; this too was the introduction of new colour and a new value into the Europe of the day and into the general development of law.*

Another constituent element of the political ability

of the Magyar race is the impetuous pertinacity that has enabled it to defend its independence against all attempts to infringe it. *St. Stephen accepted the crown presented by the Pope; but he did not become the Pope's vassal. At that period the German Emperor claimed feudal overlordship over all Christian countries. This claim was never acknowledged by the Hungarian kings, who fought bloody wars to prevent the expansion of the Germanic power in the valley of the Danube.* It was this energetic and wise policy that furthered the growing power and consolidation of Hungary as a State; and by the twelfth century she had developed into the centre of gravity of Central Europe, and into the strongest and best-organised kingdom in Europe, of whose wealth special mention was made by many of the foreign visitors to the country.

Naturally enough this development was not effected without a hitch. The wise and great kings were followed by weak and bad kings; and struggles between rival pretenders, and wars between the king and the nobles, often disturbed the peace of the realm. But even amid these struggles and conflicts the development of Hungarian constitutional law continued on its own lines. *In 1222 this development resulted in the issue of the Golden Bull, the 31 Articles of which deal with the legal status of the king, the crown prince, the nobility, the prelacy, the banners, the county sheriffs, foreigners, the commoners, the army and the courts of law.* Apart from the Great Charter issued seven years previously — of which the English are so justly proud — the Golden Bull of Hungary is the oldest constitution in Europe. *In respect of content the two charters are practically identical. By different paths English and Hungarian public law had arrived at the same results.*

Enemies of Hungary have often declared that Hungary was a „nationality State“ as far back already as the days of St. Stephen. This statement these persons endeavour to endorse by citing the advice given by St. Stephen to his son Imre in his „Hints“, expressed in the following words: — „A country of one tongue and one system of manners is backward and brittle“. Many have taken these words to mean that the great King was here training his son, the heir to the throne, to behave kindly to the non-Magyar nationalities; whereas in reality *King Stephen's advice relates to the foreign immigrants from the West who had propagated the customs, crafts*



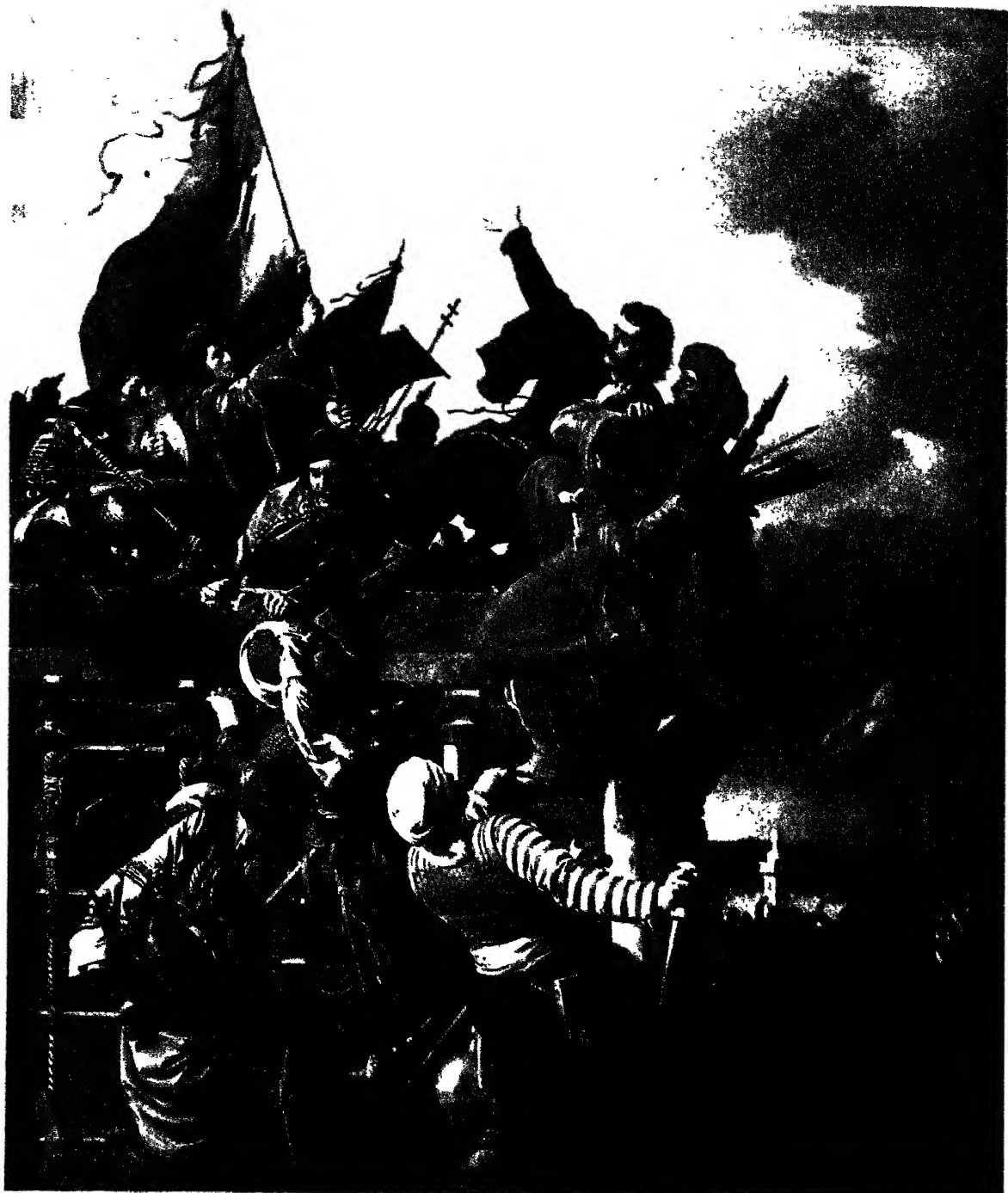
The „Corvin (Raven) Arms of the House of Hunyadi. Contemporary relief, Vajdahunyad Castle. A raven holding a ring in its mouth was the ornament decorating the arms of the monarch who ruled Hungary during the most glorious period of her history.



Matthias Corvinus (Hunyadi), the great Renaissance King, was a formidable strategist during whose reign Hungary was of unrivalled importance among the countries of Europe. His Court was the meeting-place of the most eminent European scholars and artists. He found employment for writers, poets, savants, architects and painters. In respect of culture too the Court of Matthias was the most brilliant in Europe. This oil painting by Gyula Benczur, now in the Ernst Museum, Budapest, shows King Matthias with his consort, Princess Beatrice of Naples, and his scholars and artists.



Nicholas Zrinyi, Captain of Szigetvár (Fortress of Sziget), defended his fortress with unparalleled heroism from August 5th. to September 7th., 1566, against the enormous army of the Sultan Soliman II. During the siege the Sultan died: but his death was kept secret by his generals. Two days after the Sultan's death Zrinyi abandoned all hope of being able to continue the struggle with his reduced and famished little garrison. He put on his gala and attacked the Turks, in a last desperate sally, at the head of his tiny force. He and all his men died the death of heroes. — Oil painting by Bertalan (Bartholomew) Székely, in Fine Arts Museum, Budapest. (C. Könyves Kálmán, Budapest.)



In 1456 the Turkish armies were besieging the Hungarian town Nándorfehérvár, then the southernmost outpost of Christian Europe lying in the path of pagan conquest. The Turks had almost reached the parapet of the fortress -- one of the heathen warriors had almost succeeded in planting his Turkish pike, with its crescent and horsetail, on the battlement --, when Titus Dugonitch, a young warrior in John Hunyadi's army, seized the Turk and with unparalleled self-sacrifice plunged with him into the depths, thereby preventing the planting of the Turkish horsetail and saving the fortress. In the picture, behind the wrestling and struggling warriors, may be seen the Hungarian flag being raised on high to show that the assault of the Turks has been frustrated. Later on -- with the generous consent of the nation accused by Trianon of a policy of conquest -- Nándorfehérvár was given to Serbia and called Belgrade; today it is the Capital of Yugoslavia. And on the other hand Trianon allowed the Serbs to take away the remarkably fertile southern districts of Hungary in which centuries ago the Hungarians generously allowed Serbs to settle. — Painting by Alexander Wagner, in the Fine Arts Museum, Budapest. (C. Könyves Kálmán, Budapest.)

and arts of the Occident in Hungary. In this connection we would refer to an Austrian historian, *Adolphus Fricker*, who has established the fact that in the early centuries following the occupation of the country the inhabitants of Hungary (i. e. of pre-Trianon Hungary) included an „incomparably“ larger proportion of persons of Magyar tongue than in the nineteenth century, the nationalities of other race being but poorly represented. Another eminent Austrian statistician and ethnographer, *Czoernig*, has established the further fact that in the early centuries of Hungarian history Magyars inhabited the district between the Save and the Drave, the Banate and the country to the south of the Maros, people of that race living in scattered groups everywhere in the hilly districts too; this meaning that the Magyars occupied a far larger share of the country than they did in the days immediately preceding the Great War.

Had Hungary not been visited by the great catastrophe of the Tartar invasion and the destruction of life involved by the disaster on the field of Mohács, Hungary would today be the largest State in Central Europe, with a population of thirty million souls, and — as a result of the energy afforded by her geographical situation and her racial capabilities — one of the most powerful factors in European politics.

The first great catastrophe visiting the country was the Tartar invasion. *This was the first shock that broke up the uniformity of the ethnographical character of Hungary.* It was in the flat districts that the Tartars wrought the greatest havoc and destroyed the greatest number of lives. — i. e. in the territories where the principal settlements of the Magyars were located. The region between the Danube and the Tisza was entirely denuded of inhabitants. It was in this region that Béla IV. settled the Cumanians, who later on became completely magyarised. *It was at this period that the first Rumanian shepherd settlers began to make their way in small groups into Transylvania,* while White Croats and Slavs belonging to the Polish family began to settle in the northern part of Hungary. *The Slovaks of the Highlands are the descendants of the latter; under the sheltering wings of Hungarian rule these Slovaks were enabled to preserve intact their ancestral speech, whereas their kinsmen who remained in the upper valleys of the Oder and the Morava have been Czechised by the Czechs.* It is a proof of the enormous vitality of the Magyar race that it was able very soon to recover from the havoc and annihilation of the Tartar invasion and — thanks to its power of assimilation and its capacity of increase — also the effects of the foreign influx which followed. *In the fifteenth century the Magyars again numbered*

already 3—4 million souls, and represented about 75—80% of the total population of the country, — though the process of „watering“ the original population by the introduction of foreign immigrants had in the meantime continued without a break. It was during this period that the Ruthenians fleeing from the pursuit of the Tartars settled in the hilly districts of the present-day Counties of Bereg and Máramaros; Czecho-Moravians fleeing from the persecution of the Hussites while the Turkish menace increased the dimensions of the Rumanian immigration, Serbians too beginning to drift into the country for a similar reason.

During the reigns of the Angevins and of King Matthias Corvinus Hungary was one of the most powerful States in Europe. Buda became one of the most brilliant centres of Renaissance culture. However, the moral decadence of the Renaissance period made its effect felt among the Hungarian grandees too and the country began to fall into that state of decay which explains the disaster at Mohács. But, before dealing with that event, we must refer to two of the most important landmarks in the development of Hungarian law. During the last quarter of the thirteenth century Andrew (Endre) III. convened the first Hungarian legislative assembly, which then became a permanency and was the fountain-head of Hungarian parliamentarism; it will be seen, therefore, that the idea of representative government in Hungary was only fifty years later in origin than that of England. So it is no exaggeration to assert that the development of Hungarian constitutionalism ran parallel with that of the English people. Another epoch-making milestone in the development of Hungarian law is the „Tripartitum“ of Werbőczy, a book giving a complete digest of the laws and equity of the country; it is the first Hungarian code of laws, and the fact that since 1517 it has gone through 56 editions — that making it the Hungarian book most frequently published — is evidence of the fine juristic sense characterising the Hungarian nation during the whole course of its history.

Unless we consider under this head the petty wars with the Cumanians, Petchenegs and Bulgarians, *it was on the occasion of the Tartar invasion that the Hungarian (Magyar) nation first engaged in the historical mission — glorious indeed, but the source of infinite tragic suffering — of opposing its own body to the onslaught of barbarian peoples from the East and of defending Western civilisation against these attacks at the cost of its own life-blood.* In the second half of the fourteenth century Hungary was drawn into the sphere of Turkish expansion; and from that moment, *for three centuries and a half the Hungarians defended Europe against the Turks too, shedding their blood to prevent Islam sweeping away Christi-*

anity and the civilisation of the West. We accomplished this historical mission loyally and gloriously; but in accomplishing it we almost bled to death.

Probably the Turkish wars would have been less disastrous to the Hungarian nation, had the decisive attack of the full power of the Osmanlis not been delivered against Hungary in the period of decadence following the death of King Matthias Corvinus. The nobles who had no longer to fear the strong hand of Matthias converted the kingly power into a mere shadow, and with a selfish brutality oppressed the feudal serfs, this oppression leading to the peasant revolt headed by Dózsa (the John Ball of Hungary). Veritable petty kingdoms rose into being in various parts of the country. These wealthy and mighty lords quarrelled among themselves too. And the spiritual dismemberment of the country was enhanced further by the fact that the Habsburgs began to formulate a claim to the Hungarian throne, one section of the lords taking their part in the conviction that in their struggle against the Turks the Hungarians needed the assistance of the Dynasty which was at that period master of both the German Empire and Spain and thus represented a world-power. The result of the lamentable decadence of the country and of its spiritual disunion was the disaster at Mohács. This catastrophe was followed immediately by the fall of Buda; and two-thirds of Hungary fell into Turkish hands. The Western and Northern parts of the country acknowledged the overlordship of the Habsburgs, and from this time began to serve the interests of Habsburg imperialism.

It was only among the mountains of Transylvania that the national idea as an end in itself was able to find a refuge. *Within the principality of Transylvania the Magyar race was allotted a new historical mission; while defying courageously the advance of Germanic expansion, the Magyars at the same time became the champions of the grand idea of liberty of conscience.*

This was the age of the Reformation and Counter-Reformation, and of the Thirty Years' War, when religious hatred was at its height. The example of religious tolerance manifested in the so-called Resolution of Torda was without a parallel in the history of the age. *The deputies of the part of the country under the rule of John Sigismund in 1568 — on the motion of Francis Dávid — declared complete liberty of conscience. Thus, the Hungarian nation set the whole world an example of religious tolerance; and that at a period when for their religion men were killing each other all over Europe.*

The idea comprised in the Resolution of Torda was defended sword in hand by Stephen Bocskay, Gabriel Bethlen, George Rákóczi, Imre Thököly, and Francis Rákóczi II., who thereby earned the undying gratitude of liberty-loving humanity.

All these glorious struggles for the vindication of liberty, however, demanded just as much Magyar blood as did the wars against the Turks. The fate of the districts subjected to the rule of the Turkish power — a power on the level of a slave-State — was one of gradual decay and devastation. In the Great Lowlands thousands of villages disappeared altogether; the forests in the district between the Danube and the Tisza were destroyed; and the Turks flooded a part of the Lowlands with marshes.

The terrible destruction affected primarily the Magyar race, seeing that it was the pure Magyar inhabitants of the Lowlands who suffered most from the consequences of the Turkish occupation. It was at this period that the so-called *Age of Kolonitch* began. *The chief object of Kolonitch was the germanisation, to be effected principally by the aid of two expedients — 1. the deliberate impoverishment of the Hungarian population which had been so terribly thinned by the wars and their incidental havoc, and 2. the colonisation of the deserted parts of the country by the importation of peoples of foreign race. On the invitation of the Vienna Government 80,000 Serbs under the leadership of their patriarch, Arsenius Tchernioievitch, settled in the southern districts; Buda was swamped by Germans; German villages increased in numbers in the Counties of Pest and Baranya; and Germans and Serbs were settled in the larger towns — in Pest, Esztergom, Székesfehérvár, Vác, Nagyvárád, Szeged, Pécs, etc. When, under the Peace of Passarovitz concluded in 1718, the whole territory of Hungary was liberated from the Turkish yoke, the Vienna Government proceeded to encourage an immigration into the depopulated regions of the country on a scale comparable only to that of American immigration in recent years. For eighty or ninety years the settlement of Germans in the country was continued in a systematic manner; while fresh contingents of Serbs — 40,000 families in all — entered the southern districts, and even larger numbers of Rumanians migrated into the country. The thinly-populated Lowlands were overrun by immigrants from the Highlands and from Transylvania. This was the origin of the Slovak, Ruthenian and Rumanian linguistic "islands" to be found in the Lowland plain. The dimensions of this immigration are shown by the following figures: — to judge from the data of the census of serfs made in 1720, at the time of the conclusion of the Peace of Passarovitz Hungary had a population of about 2,600,000 souls, 1,200,000 being Magyars. According to the data of the Census taken by order of Joseph II. in the years 1785—87, the population of the country was already exactly 3,000,000. In the increase of some 5,400,000 thus recorded the Magyars — as their original proportion suggests — must have had only a small share. Even supposing*



*Hungary on STEPHEN, and after the Poles.
BATHORYS, indebita et de facto.*



STEPHANVS BOCHKAY DE KIS
MARIA PRINCEPS TRANSYLVA
RIAE, PAR. CIVIC REGNI HUNGARIAE DOM
INVS, ET SICVLORVM COMES - ANNO MDGV.



*The most renowned
Prince Bethlen Gabor by the
name of Kufj Hungary, Prince
of Transylvania, Moldavia
and Valachia.*

The Great Princes of Transylvania. 1. Stephen Báthory (1533—1586), who not only won fame as Prince of Transylvania, but was also elected King of Poland, his memory being still revered by the Poles as that of their greatest sovereign. 2. Stephen Bocskay, champion of liberty of conscience. He was born at Kolozsvár in 1557, and died at Kassa in 1606. He was master of both these towns, which revered him as an eminent general and a gifted politician. One of these towns has been given to Rumania, and the other to the Czechs. The Rumanians have demolished his statue in Transylvania, taking away from him the square named after him and covering it with buildings. 3. Gabriel (Gábor) Bethlen (1580—1629), Prince of Transylvania and elected King of Hungary. An eminent general, gifted diplomat, and an enthusiastic patron of science and the arts. Played a distinguished role in the Thirty Years' War. This English print shows the fame and authority which he enjoyed beyond the frontiers of his own country.

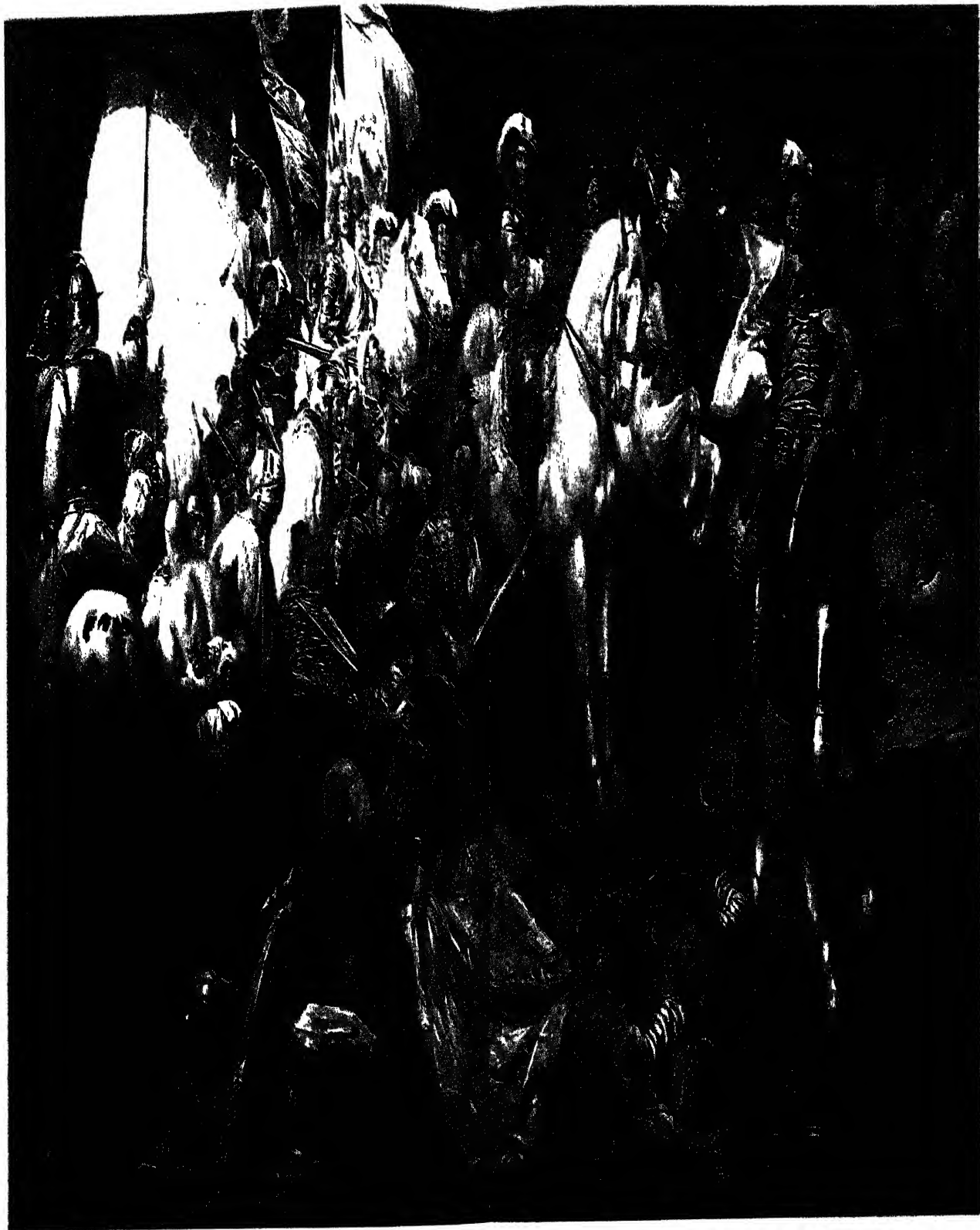
that the number of Magyar inhabitants recorded by the Census of 1720 increased during the intervening period to double that number, the great bulk of the increase here shown must be attributed to the artificial augmentation of the foreign elements of the population by colonisation. The proportion of Magyars — which in the days of Matthias Corvinus must have been 75—80% — in the time of Joseph II. was not more than 33—35%.

And the continuation of the process of immigration still further diminished this proportion; and the opening of the nineteenth century, when the population of Hungary was 10,000,000, the number of persons Magyar by tongue was estimated at 3,000,000 — that being a proportion of only 30%.

In respect of increase of population the nineteenth century was for the Magyars a period of renaissance. According to the data of the Census taken in 1910, the population of Hungary — exclusive of Croatia — was 18,000,000; and of this number no fewer than nearly 10,000,000 (i. e. 54%) declared themselves of Magyar nationality. That means that in a hundred years the number of Magyars increased from 3 to 10 millions, — this meaning that, as a result of the cessation of the artificial colonisation of the country by the importation of foreign elements, the Magyar population more than trebled. This result is due only to a relatively slight extent to the undoubtedly great power of assimilation of the Magyars. The chief

cause underlying the process resulting from deep-seated natural sources is the greater natural increase characterising the Magyar race. The natural increase of the Magyars has at all times been — both relatively and in absolute figures — greater than that of the other races living in Hungary combined. Thus, according to the Census returns for 1910 60% of the natural increase fell to the share of the Magyars, the proportion of that race to the total population of the country at that time being only 54.5%.

After the Vienna Congress the Vienna Governments became the leaders of the reactionary movement in Europe. In their terror of the consequences of the French Revolution, they endeavoured to stifle every enlightened intellectual movement in the countries under their control. The Hungarian nation has however at all times been responsive to the currents of Western thought. The eastern frontiers of Hungary have always been the dividing line between the Occident and the Balkans and Asia. Hungary was at the time still living in the cultural community of the Western peoples. In days gone by Hungary had been penetrated by the ideas of the Renaissance and the Reformation, and had then felt the influence of the Counter-Reformation; and now she embraced the democratic ideas of the French Revolution too, which claimed their Hungarian martyrs, — Ignatius Martinovitch and his fellows, who were executed in 1795, by order of the Vienna reactionaries, for conspiring to re-



Re-capture of the Fortress of Buda from the Turks on 1686. A world event at the end of the century celebrated by the whole of Christendom. For centuries the Hungarians shed their blood in the struggle against the Turks the triumphant issue of which was accelerated by the recovery of the fortress of Buda. And when the West which they had so heroically defended showed misapprehension instead of gratitude, they rose in their own defence and fought under Rákóczi against the endeavour to absorb their independence. — Painting by Gyula Benczur, in the Municipal Museum. — (O. Könyves Kálmán, Budapest.)

alise the principles of the French Revolution. This procedure failed however to prevent the ideas of the modern age penetrating Hungary too. The Hungarian nation now experiencing a spiritual renaissance found splendid leaders in the persons of Stephen Széchenyi and Louis Kossuth. *It is with their names that we connect the so-called Age of Reform, which culminated in the legislation of 1848.* Under the influence of the triumph of the February Revolution in Paris, the Vienna Revolution brought Metternich to his fall; while in Hungary, on March 15th, the students, led by Petőfi and Jókai, established the freedom of the press, the first products of which were Petőfi's „Talpra Magyar!“ („Arise, Magyar!“) and the proclamation entitled „What does the Nation Want?“ Two days later King Ferdinand appointed Count Louis Batthyány to be the first responsible Prime Minister of Hungary; while in Parliament, under the spell of the ideas of the age, the nobles themselves — the party most interested in the question — with the greatest enthusiasm passed a law proclaiming the equality of all citizens before the law, the abolition of feudalism and socage, the absolute equality of all religious denominations, and all the other reforms in keeping with the spirit of the age. And these laws obtained the royal assent. However, the counter-revolution did not give up the game. Baron Jellashitch mobilised the Croats against Hungary, while the Serbians and Rumanians too took up arms against that Hungarian nation which had offered them liberation and equal rights. In Vienna Ferdinand was made to resign and to hand over his power to Francis Joseph. Then began the War of Independence, in which the Hungarian nation — as in the days of Gabriel Bethlen, Rákóczi and Bocskay — fought for the principle of progress and the ideals of liberty and democracy.

It was only with the aid of the Russian forces that Vienna succeeded in overcoming the heroic and unselfish struggle of the Hungarian nation. *The War of Independence ended in the surrender at Világos, the execution at Arad of thirteen Hungarian generals (the Martyrs of Arad), and the shooting of the first constitutional Prime Minister of Hungary, followed by numberless other cases of similar bloody retaliation and by the confinement in Austrian prisons of hosts of Hungarian revolutionaries.* Louis Kossuth fled abroad; his proclamation of the justice of Hungary's cause stirred England and America to a frenzy of enthusiasm: then he lived for decades at Turin as the incarnation of the idea of Hungarian independence and national individuality.

The Hungarian nation itself took a different course. In 1867 it became reconciled to the dynasty, and Francis Deák and Count Gyula Andrássy drafted the Compromise (Ausgleich or political agreement with Aus-

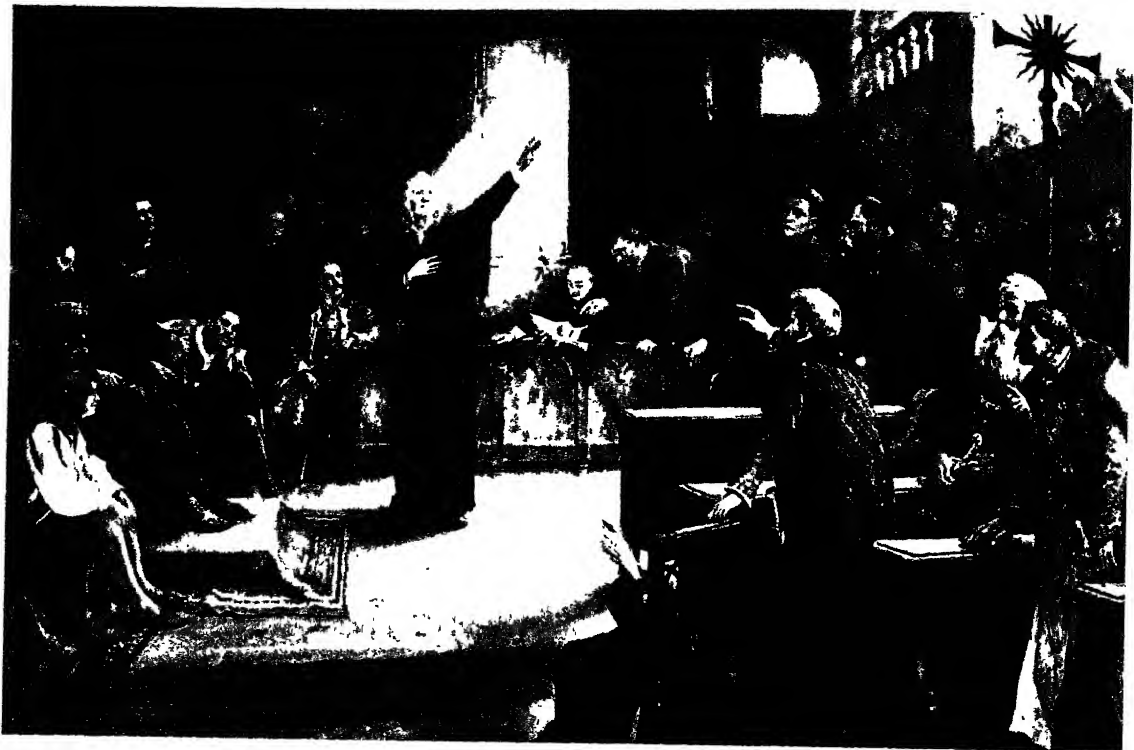
tria.) During the three decades immediately following the conclusion of the Compromise the new adjustment appeared to be very favourable to the interests of Hungary. *The splendid creative work accomplished during this period by the Hungarian nation developed a backward and neglected fatherland into one of the most cultured countries in Europe.* It completely re-constructed the unstable public finances, built railways, roads, factories, schools and universities, and gave innumerable proofs of what under favourable circumstances the creative energy of the Magyar race was capable. The Millennium — the celebration of the first thousand years of Hungary's existence as a State — came in 1896: by that time the nation was wealthy and contented, trusting confidently in the future and the progress of that country in which the Magyars had had to undergo so many ordeals.

Unfortunately this peaceful Utopia proved to be ephemeral in character. Shortly after the millennium celebrations began those constitutional struggles in the course of which — as unbiassed and clear-sighted men ascertained long ago — it was shown that *Hungary's constitution was only in force on paper, working without a hitch only so long as the legislature continued to accommodate its wishes to the common interests of the monarchy as a whole.* In the course of protracted crises accompanied by obstruction and stormy elections it became evident that the Hungarian nation was quite unable to realise the establishment of an independent customs system, the creation of an independent national bank, or any of the so-called „national concessions“ calculated to throw more precisely into relief the political character of the army.

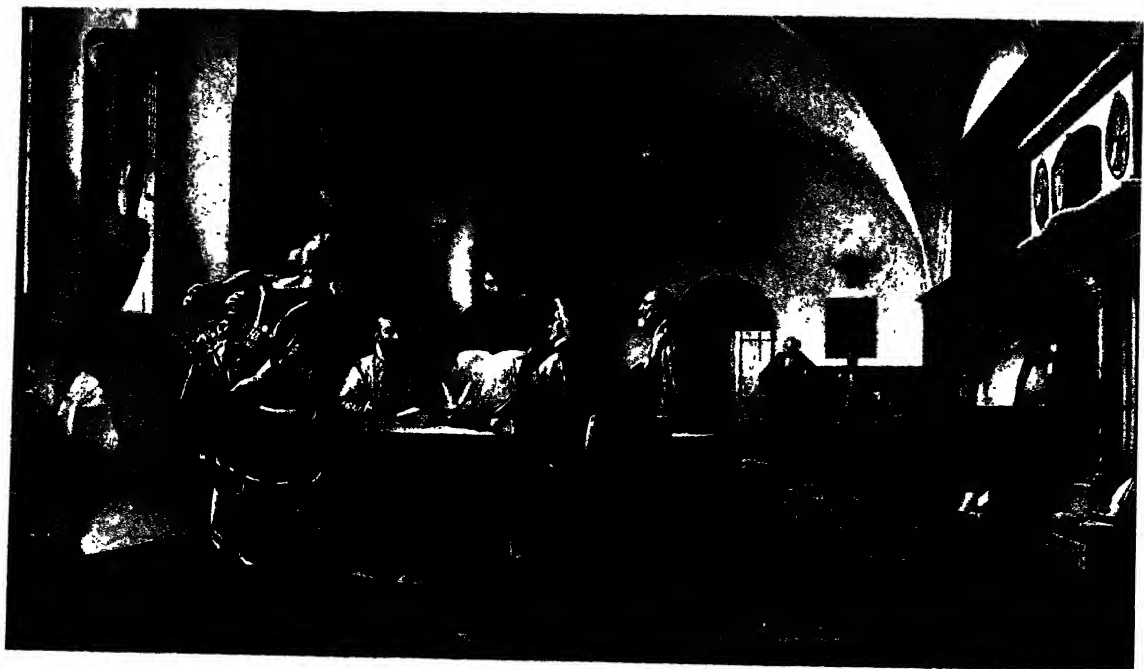
The outbreak of the Great War found the Hungarian nation in a tragical situation. *Though it had never been a serious power in the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, that nation was made responsible for all the crimes committed by the Vienna Government;* the truth being, on the contrary, that when the responsible authorities decided to send an exceptionally energetic ultimatum to Serbia and to declare war, that decision was taken *de nobis sine nobis*: and the representative of the will of the Hungarian nation — Count Stephen Tisza, the Premier — left no stone unturned in his endeavour to prevent the outbreak of hostilities. Several times during the Great War it looked as if the arms of the Central Powers had won a decisive victory, and that we should be able to dictate the conditions of peace. On these occasions both Stephen Tisza and the Hungarian legislature immediately protested against every idea of annexation or conquest. Hungary regarded the Great War as being an exclusively defensive struggle. In this defensive struggle, however, we were defeated;



Francis Rákóczi, leader of the Hungarian malcontents who protested against Austrian absolutism, in November, 1700, began to correspond with the King of France, who promised him arms; but his letters were intercepted in Vienna. Rákóczi's followers advised him to take to flight; but he was unwilling to leave his invalid young wife. He was arrested at his wife's bedside by the soldiers sent by the imperial general Solari. He was to be executed; but his wife won over his guard and succeeded in procuring his escape. This painting, by Gyula Benczur, commemorates the moment of his arrest. — C. Könyves Kálmán, Budapest.



The Torda Diet, in 1568, declaring liberty of conscience. On the left John Sigismund, the elected king, is sitting on his throne and listening with gloomy dignity to the speech of Francis Dávid, the leading apostle of Unitarianism. British and American Unitarians know well who Francis Dávid was; and they acknowledge the Unitarianism of Transylvania as the origin of the faith they profess. Torda has been subjected by the Treaty of Trianon to Rumanian rule. — Oil painting by Aladár Kriesch de Körösfő. (O. Könyves Kálmán, Budapest.)



Bethlen Gábor (Gabriel Bethlen), Prince of Transylvania (1580—1629), who fought for the great cause of the Hungarians against the Habsburgs and raised his own country, Transylvania, to a high level of culture. In his court foreign and Hungarian scholars found a home. The Transylvania of Bethlen — which he converted into a stronghold of Hungarian (Magyar) exclusiveness — was given by the Treaty of Trianon to Rumania. This oil painting, by Victor Madarász, shows Bethlen with his savants, in the superb library in which the colours that accompanied him in his victorious campaigns do not seem out of place in the company of the means of learned research.

and then came the ruthless Treaty of Trianon, involving a catastrophe paralleled in Hungarian history only by the disaster at Mohács. After Mohács the country was torn into three parts: the Treaty of Trianon has torn the kingdom of St. Stephen into five parts; but this catastrophe has not broken the soul of the Hungarian people. The country will recover from the ravages of Trianon as surely as it recovered from the consequences of Mohács.

The Magyar nation was not a completely barbarian people even when it settled in its present home. *In the course of their long wanderings the Magyars had absorbed a certain eastern culture of Turco-Persian origin still in evidence in their peasant decorative art; and they were adepts in agriculture and cattle-breeding.* Their language, which was of Finno-Ugrian origin, showed important Turkish influences. Their religion was Nature-worship. We have letters and runes and words dating from a period prior to the occupation of Hungary; this shows that *the most cultured classes of the Magyars were familiar with the art of writing when they entered the heart of Europe.* That means that the Magyars introduced into the district between the Danube and the Tisza a certain kind of peculiar culture, which then came into contact with the Christian culture of Western Europe.

The Christianised Magyars proved able to adapt themselves to the spiritual side of Christianity, and also to absorb — and by the aid of their vital energy to further develop — the artistic tendencies of medieval Europe. The culture of medieval Europe was primarily of an ecclesiastical character; and the earliest monuments of Magyar culture are also of that character. From Italian master-builders they learned to build romanesque churches; while French master-builders taught them to build Gothic churches. The Tartar and Turkish depredations of later times destroyed most of the creations of this early Hungarian architecture; nevertheless, several art memorials are still in existence which show that *the Hungarian master-builders of those days were in every respect able to keep pace with the times.* Instances of this ability of the Hungarian architects are the romanesque churches at Lébény, Ják and Zsámbék, the Cathedral at Kassa, and the Chapel of St. Michael, also at Kassa and more ancient even than the Cathedral, etc. An early appreciation of art is shown by the fact that King Béla II. conferred nobility on the maker of St. Ladislas's tomb, the master-mason Tekős, and his son. A Hungarian school of sculpture too developed early. *In the fourteenth century, in anticipation of the Italian quattrocento, a monumental metal sculpture developed in Hungary.* Martin and George Kolozsvári — apart from other

imposing works — created the statue of St. Ladislas at Nagyvárad broken to pieces subsequently by the Turks. Besides Hungarian sculptors there were Hungarian painters too, even the most unpretentious little parish church must have its frescoes; and very soon mosaics too came into fashion.

Music and literature go back to a common origin. *The Magyar conquerors brought their minstrels with them; these minstrels sang songs to the accompaniment of the lute.* All the records of songs and music dating from these early days have naturally been lost. *The earliest extant common record of the Magyar tongue and of Magyar literature is the „Halotti beszéd“ (Funeral Oration) dating from the first half of the thirteenth century.*

When the art of the Western States was revived by the Renaissance, Hungarian art and science too began to thrive. The Courts of the Angevin kings, Robert Charles and Louis the Great, and even more so that of Matthias Corvinus, were the meeting place of the most eminent intellects in Europe, who by that time included many Magyars too. The Corvin Codexes of King Matthias are marvels of the art of the medieval copyist. It is from this age that the Castle of Vajda-Hunyad, a masterpiece of Gothic architecture, dates. By the establishment of the „Black Army“, *the first professional standing army in Europe*, Matthias was far ahead of his age; and *the name of the peculiarly Hungarian type of cavalry — the hussars — made its way into the military organisations of the Western States.* At the beginning of the sixteenth century the first waves of the Reformation brought to Hungary *the art of printing.* The period immediately following was unfortunately not at all favourable to the development of Hungarian culture. In the territories under Turkish occupation there was a complete stagnation; even the existing art memorials were destroyed. All cultural activity was concentrated in the Highlands and in Transylvania. *In the Courts of the Transylvanian Princes artists and scholars were held in high esteem; Gabriel Bethlen in particular showed a profound interest in cultural movements.* It was at this period that in certain places in the Highlands — in Bátfia, Lőcse, etc. — were erected those beautiful Renaissance buildings which, standing in Hungarian soil, possess a certain local colour and a local zest.

Even amid the everconstant menace of war, the Hungarian lords and prelates preserved their feeling for the needs of culture. *In 1635 Peter Pázmány, a master of Hungarian style and oratory, founded the first Hungarian university at Szombathely;* this university was the ancestor of the Budapest University of today. Francis Nádasdy, who was beheaded by order of the Emperor Leopold for taking part in the conspiracy headed by Francis



Playing the Tárogató (Hungarian oboe). Painting by John Kupeczky, famous Hungarian artist of the Age of Rákóczi. Property of the Budapest Fine Arts Museum.

Wesselényi (1671), was a celebrated collector. In the families of our aristocrats and of the wealthy lesser nobility, a passion for miniatures doing the work done by photographs today came into vogue: and there was an increase in the number of Hungarian painters, two of whom — *Kupeczky* and *Mányoki* — went abroad and achieved a European reputation.

After the expulsion of the Turks our magnates and prelates became possessed by a veritable mania for building; *Count Charles Eszterházy, Bishop of Eger, built no fewer than ninety-nine churches*, being prevented from building the hundredth only by his death. By this time the baroque style dominated Hungarian architecture. *In the field of decorative art our silversmiths had acquired a great reputation and a position of authority in the Middle Ages.* They were the masters of foreign countries; we find Hungarian technical terms in many places in German works dealing with the silversmith's craft.

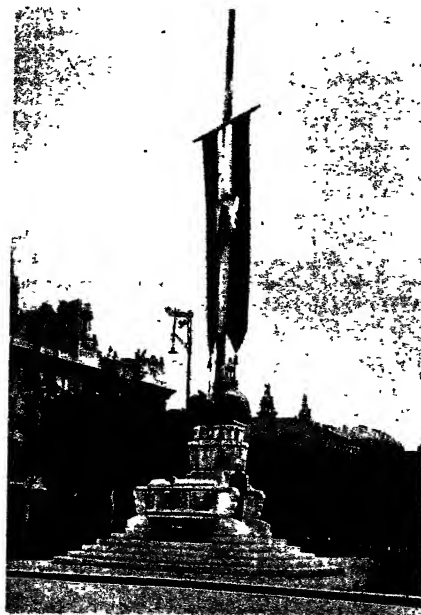
Then, during the last century and a half, the Magyars set to work with marvellous energy to make up in every field for the omissions of the past. The language reform carried out at the end of the eighteenth century was followed by the literary development which through the medium of the works of *Vörösmarty, Petöfi* and *Arany János* (John Arany) presented us with the lovely and plastic character of the Hungarian language of today. The primitive age of the Hungarian theatre (the amateur performances of the Jesuit schools) was followed in 1790 by the formation of the first permanent theatrical company (that of *Kelemen*), and at the same time by the establishment at *Kolozsvár* of *Nicholas Wesselényi's* theatre. *Count Francis Széchenyi* founded the National Museum; and on the initiative of his son, *Count Stephen Széchenyi*, the Hungarian Academy of Sciences was established. The press began to develop. Budapest began to change into a big city, while the Hungarian music that had been so famous for centuries was converted into the refined music of concert-halls and into operas; our architecture, our painting, our sculpture and our scientific life rose to a European level. Already outbreak of the Great War

ture was able to hold its own in every respect with the culture of the world — even with that of larger countries which had been much more fortunate in the progress of their development and possessed greater wealth.

Therefore, the lessons of history show 1. that the Magyar conquerors brought into the heart of Europe a quite new and peculiar culture, and that by accommodating themselves to Western civilisation they became useful workers in the cause of universal progress; 2. that, wedged in between Germans and Slavs, they made it impossible for either of these numerically superior races to obtain the upper hand; 3. that they have been the missionaries of Western culture among the more barbarian peoples coming from the East; 4. that they protected Europe from the inroads of eastern peoples — the Tartars and the Turks; that Western Europe was able to work undisturbed on the development of its culture, was due to the Magyars, who almost bled to death while fulfilling their mission; 5. that by suffering in the seventeenth century for liberty of conscience and in the nineteenth for the cause of democracy, they became champions of progress and the liberty of the peoples; 6. that the fact that the Hungarian nation today does not occupy the whole of the territory given to it by its historical destiny within the ring of the Carpathians, is due to the losses sustained in these very

struggles. All the peoples claiming parts of the territory of the Magyars under the Treaty of Trianon were not aboriginal inhabitants of that territory, but later immigrants who for centuries enjoyed the protection of the Hungarian nation; 7. that the culture of pre-War Hungary was far ahead of that of the peoples surrounding her. The Treaty of Trianon has therefore driven the inhabitants separated from the mother country from the possession of this higher culture to a culture of a lower standard and has also thrown difficulties in the way of a further development of the culture of the Hungarian nation. The dismemberment of Hungary is therefore a loss to the universal culture of mankind.

So the verdict of history advocates a revision of the decision comprised in the Treaty of Trianon and stipulating the dismember-

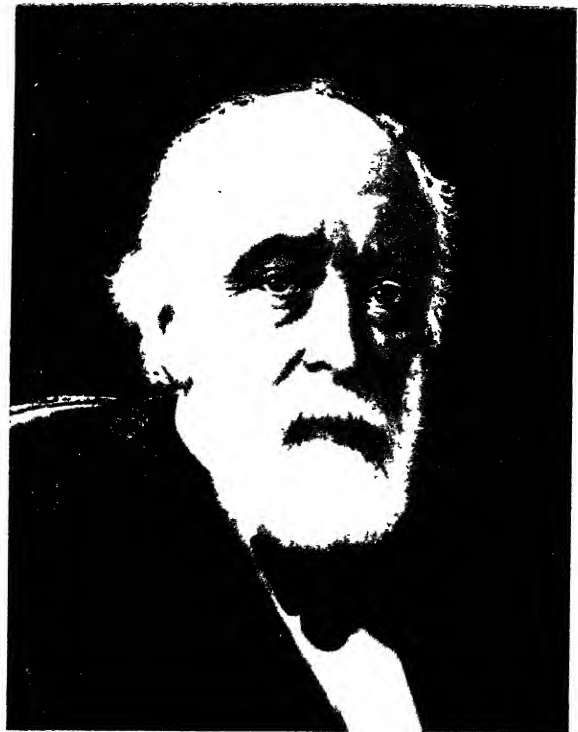


The Trianon Flag. The Hungarian tricolor hoisted in Liberty Square, Budapest, to fly half-mast continually, as long as the injustices of the Trianon Peace Edict are not revised.

prior to the of the provisions Hungarian cul- ment of Hungary.



Portrait of Louis Kossuth in 1848.

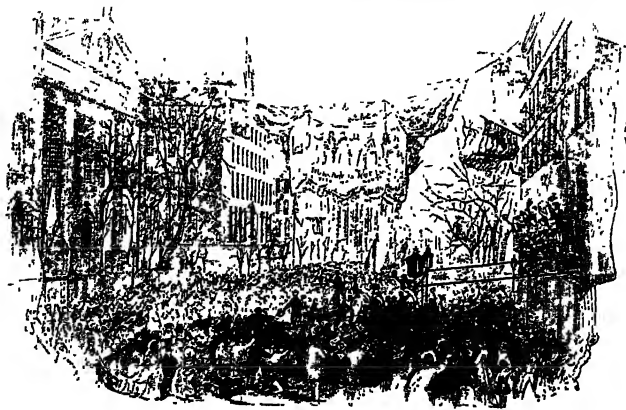


Kossuth in Old Age.

The endeavour to make itself independent of the oppressive rule of Austria which had been made for centuries by the Hungarian nation, reached its climax in the War of Independence of 1848—49. Louis Kossuth (1802—1894) was the most brilliant figure of this struggle and one of the most dazzling phenomena of the whole Hungarian past. Law student, advocate, editor of a paper while still a young man, he was so passionately outspoken a member of the Opposition that in 1837, by order of Vienna, he was sentenced to four years' confinement in the Buda barracks. While in prison he learned English, studied and read, deepened his political knowledge and made himself familiar with the political theories of the great British and French political scientists. On his release he founded the „Pesti Hírlap", which enabled him to rule public opinion. In 1847 he entered Parliament as official leader of the Opposition. On receiving news of the Paris Revolution of 1848, on March 3rd., with that marvellous capacity of always discerning the true character of a situation, he made a splendid speech in which he demanded that the government of the Monarchy should be set on a constitutional basis. This motion of his gave him the control of the fate of the Monarchy. Vienna yielded, and the first responsible Hungarian Ministry was appointed; but in the meanwhile the Austrian Government was busy stirring up a counter-revolution in the outlying districts of Hungary, and the Ban Jellashitch invaded Hungary. Kossuth saw that the conflict was inevitable; made Parliament vote 200,000 recruits; went

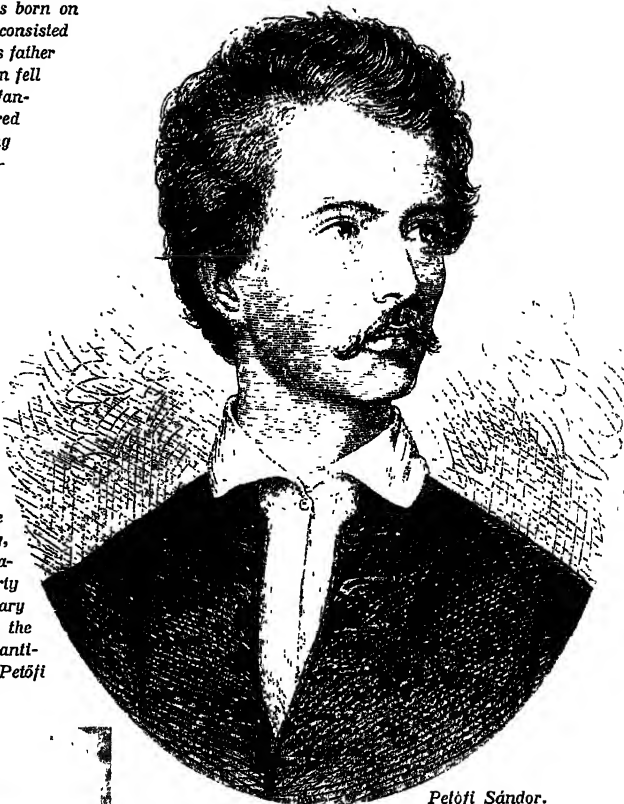
about in person calling the people to arms; fired the whole country with wonderful speeches; became dictator, and started the War of Independence in the conviction that the Western Powers would support him. This belief was the greatest error he ever made. During the War of Independence the fortunes of war fluctuated. Kossuth proclaimed a Republic in Debrecen, and dethroned the Habsburg dynasty. However, the small Honvéd army was unable to stand against the Russian invaders; and in August 11th., 1849, Kossuth invested Görgey, the commander-in-chief, with full powers, and escaped to Turkey. Thenceforward, until his death, Kossuth lived in exile; but never for a moment did he cease to work for the independence of his country. In 1851 America sent a ship to Asia Minor to fetch him; and he then passed in triumph, first to England, where his fame and personality, and his masterly command of English, won all hearts. Then he went to America, where

he was received at a solemn meeting in the Washington Capitol. Later, for seven years he was in London endeavouring to make the cause of Hungary a European question; but his efforts proved futile. The remainder of his life was spent in Turin, where he had to contend with material worries. He was one of the greatest orators of all time, a fiery soul and a clear-headed thinker who in settling the fate of his own country desired to settle the future of the whole of Central Europe on foundations of liberty and democracy. He was an eminent representative of the enthusiasm and love of liberty of the Hungarian race.



Louis Kossuth — the leader of the Hungarians during the War of Independence of 1848—49, who was condemned to death by the Habsburg ruler of Austria and was therefore compelled to live in exile abroad — being received in 1852 in Broadway by the enthusiasm of the people of America.

Petőfi Sándor (Alexander Petőfi), the greatest Hungarian lyric poet, and one of the most remarkable phenomena of world literature, was born on January 1st., 1823. He was the son of a simple butcher; and his life consisted of adventures and fluctuations of sorrow and brilliance. So long as his father was well-to-do, he gave him a first-class education; but the father then fell into poverty, and the boy turned his back on his school, agitated by fantastic schemes and captivated by literature and the theatre. He wandered about the country in all directions, joining companies of strolling players; then enlisted as a soldier: finally — at the age of 18 — entering the Pápa College. After having finished his studies there, he made the first great steps towards the realisation of his brilliant schemes; his verses were not rejected in Pest; and his poem called „A Borozó” (The Wine-Drinker) was published in the leading literary periodical. His unrest again sent him to the theatre. After spending a winter of inhuman privations in Debrecen, in 1844 he went at last to Pest to join the staff of a paper; and the sudden and unexpected appreciation he received spurred him on to work hard. After the lapse of barely a year his name became known all over the country; but his popularity, his sincerity, and his unreserve made him a thorn in the side of the conservative litterateurs, who attacked him bitterly: notwithstanding, he presented his nation with a rapid series of masterpieces. After ephemeral love affairs he fell seriously in love with Julia Szendrey, paying tribute to his love in the form of wonderful love verses; and despite the opposition of the girl's parents, he wedded Julia in the same year. This was the happy period of his life of storm and stress. He worked enormously, the production of his lyre being as rich as that of uncontrolled Nature. During the opening period of the Hungarian struggle for liberty he joined the students; and the first product of the free press of Hungary was his grand National Song, which is still the national creed of the Hungarian people. He poured forth an inexhaustible stream of anti-dynastic verses; the people were taken aback by the bitter tone: and Petőfi



Petőfi Sándor.

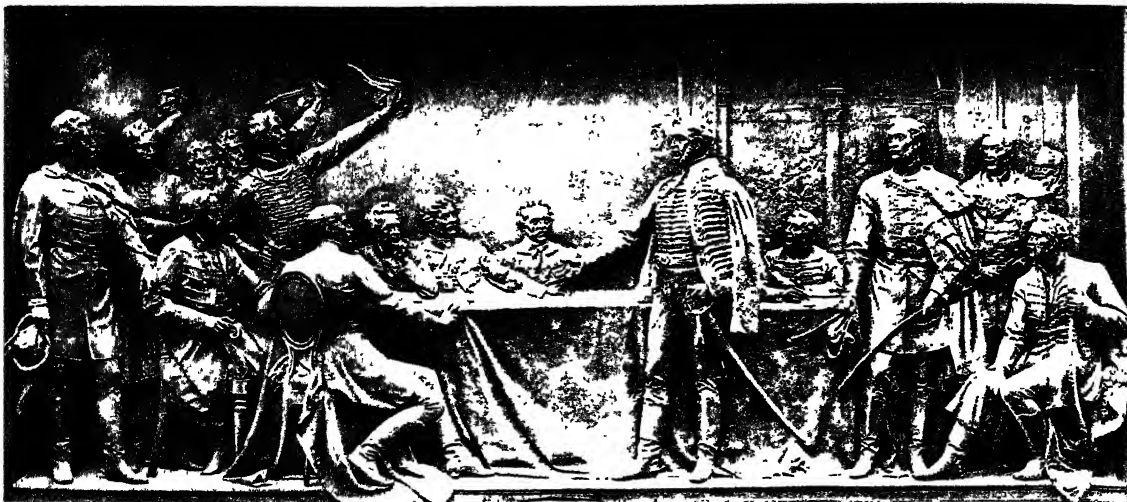
(Drawing by Nicholas Barabás.)



Petőfi in the Hungarian War of Independence.

Painting by the Polish artist Jan Styka (now in the Budapest Ernst Museum).

was not elected as member of the chamber of deputies. He then joined the colours of the fight for independence; in the autumn of 1848 he was promoted to be a captain, and in 1849 was fighting in General Bem's army as major, all trace of him being lost after the Battle of Segesvár, in Transylvania. The greatness of his popularity as a poet is shown by the fact that even a generation after his death his nation refused to believe he was dead; and legends became rife about him, while the simple folk continued to expect his return, and would not acquiesce in the thought that he was gone. Petőfi was one of the greatest geniuses known in world literature, — a true genius to whom Nature and he world revealed their innermost being and inspired him with the tones and the music that render his songs of incomparable beauty. His poems have been translated into every cultured tongue. And the poet who presented world literature with the loveliest of all love poems („Szeptember végén”: At the End of September), — who in hundreds of verses has handed down to eternity all that he felt and saw, — whose superior as a national poet no nation in the world can produce, — and who was so sublimely saturated with the great ideas of his own time —, this superb poet lived only 26 years, producing his wonderful creations as a young man, almost a child, and in a mere moment of time out of his works built for himself and for his nation an unrivalled memorial to which perhaps no literature in the world can show a parallel. Every Hungarian has Petőfi in his heart today too, thinking with sorrow that the place where he bled to death for his country — the battle-field of Segesvár — is now under Rumanian rule.



Count Stephen Széchenyi, Kossuth's contemporary, whom posterity has called „the greatest Hungarian“. He too dreamed of Hungarian liberty and Hungarian independence, as Kossuth did; but there was a difference in their respective methods. Széchenyi desired to realise the dream of national prosperity by peaceful means, first making the nation wealthy and cultured; he shrank from any idea of upheaval, and consequently did all he could to liberate the Hungarian nation by increasing its economic and cultural assets. He was anxious to invigorate the economic and commercial life of Hungary by applying the models supplied by the economic and commercial life of England. He was a great initiator and creator. He was a wealthy aristocrat who by a princely donation became the founder of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, the highest cultural

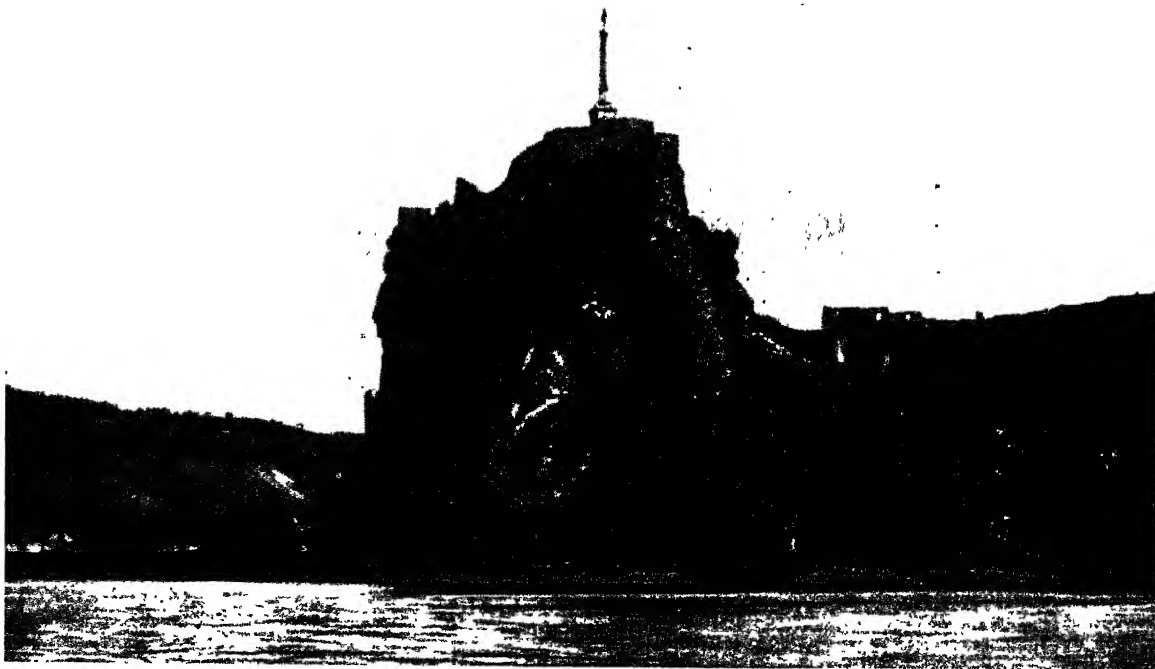


institution of the Hungarians built on a European model. In place of the bridge of boats previously in existence he built a new bridge to connect the two parts of the Hungarian Capital — Buda and Pest — lying on either shore of the Danube. The Chain Bridge was the first bridge of the suspension kind on the continent, and is still one of the finest bridges in the world. Széchenyi also established the first Danube steamship company. All his creations were pioneer work, not only in Hungary, but in the whole civilised Europe of the time. He witnessed the death struggle of his people bleeding to death in the War of Independence; and that clouded his fanatic mind. The picture in the centre is a portrait of Széchenyi by Ammerling. Above: foundation of the Academy, relief by Barnabó Holló. Below: the Széchenyi Chain Bridge, Bpest.

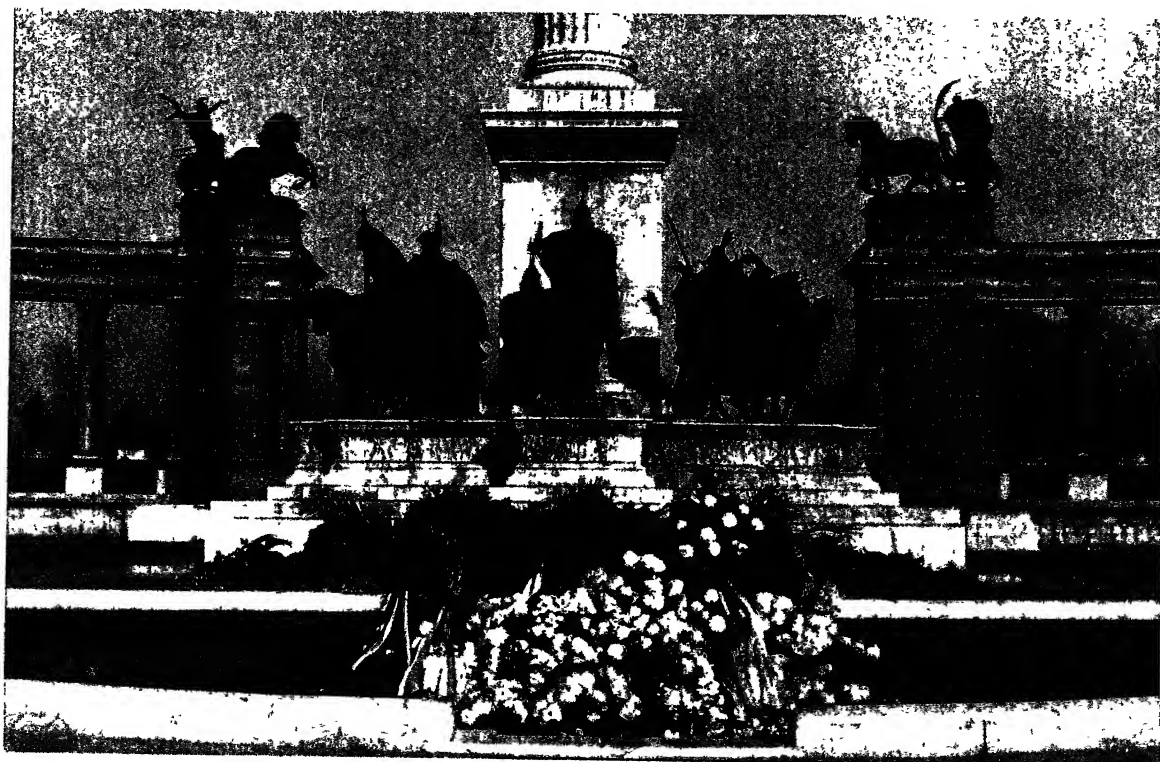




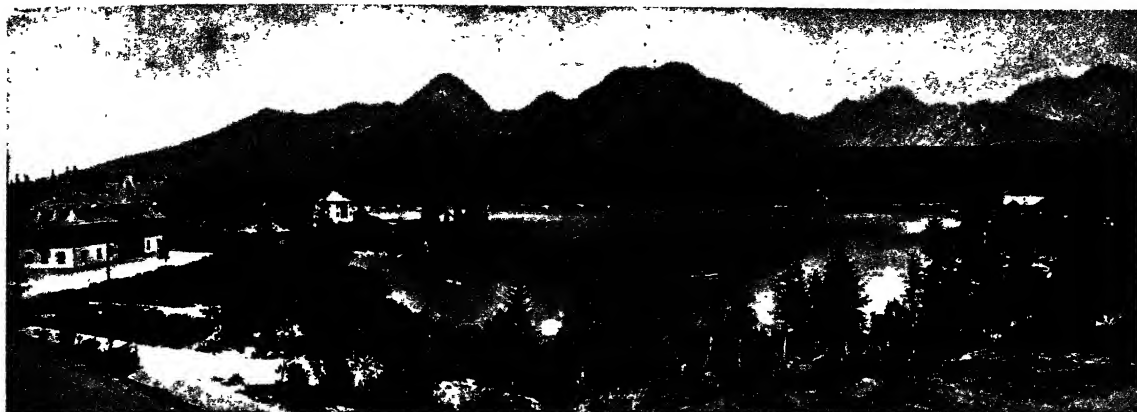
Count Stephen Tisza, formerly Premier of Hungary. By this time even our enemies have come to admit that Tisza was the most moderate of the leading politicians of the Central Powers. It was he who opposed the idea of declaring war and, when the Austrians outvoted his objections, refused to agree to any campaign not excluding the idea of territorial annexation on the part of Hungary. Like every true Hungarian, Tisza too regarded the war as exclusively a defensive war. After the war was over, in the days of chaos following the collapse of the Monarchy, Tisza was murdered in his villa in Hermina-ut. — Painting by Gyula Benczur.



Castle Hill, Dévény, with the memorial of Arpád, conqueror of Hungary. It was at this point that the Danube formerly passed the frontier of Hungary. The new owners of Dévény, the Czechs, have in their blind fanaticism destroyed the memorial, as it proclaimed that the Hungarian State had been in existence for a thousand years. The same has been the fate of the Millennial Memorials at Zemun, Munkács, Brassó and Nyitra; the demolition of these art memorials will figure for all time as a lasting record of the barbarism of the new owners of the respective countries.



Memorial of the Hungarian Millennium, Budapest. Stands in front of the Town Park lake; now it has to take the place also of the memorials once standing in the occupied territories (now demolished) as a record of the Hungarians' ancient claim to the territories which have been purloined from them. In front of the memorial — covered with wreaths — is the memorial erected in memory of the Hungarian heroes who fell in the Great War.



Lake Csorba.

What Has Been Stolen From Us.

What has been stolen from us, is the finest collection of spoils in the world. All three of the Succession States become nervous the moment we recall the beauties of the booty that has fallen to them. They act like the murderer whose nerves are affected by the death-rattle of his victim. Or like the embezzler who becomes nervous the moment people begin to talk about his extravagant way of living.

The three Succession States have superb jewels with which to cut a figure in the eyes of the world. Without doubt the most beautiful parts of present-day Yugoslavia are those torn from the Hungarian Crown — Croatia and Slavonia, and the „Bácska“ district. The loveliest part of present-day Rumania is beautiful Transylvania. And the most beautiful part of present-day Czecho-Slovakia is the charmingly attractive Hungarian Highlands.

The upper frontier of the Greater Hungary which formed so perfect a geographical unit was closed in by the natural arc of the Carpathians. And the Carpathians form what is indisputably one of the finest mountain regions in the world. The Tatra rivals the beauties of any of the Alpine districts. And the fairy tarn bearing the name of Lake Csorba is one of the loveliest spots on earth. In pre-War days the Hungarians spent enormous sums to make this spot the home of an advanced culture. But by a single gesture Trianon condemned this beautiful spot to oblivion; for it is well known that the Czechs are doing all they can to artificially suppress the development of the Tatra district... This is a procedure almost without a parallel in the world, — a country fighting against its own natural beauties. While clinging frantically to this region, Czecho-Slovakia at the same time hates it.

It is this hatred that is impeding with a wicked persistence the development of those towns of visionary beauty which during the Hungarian régime were able freely and happily to expand their ancient traditions. The brutal ruthlessness of this policy does not seem to be in any way impeded by ethical considerations; as may be seen in Pozsony — the ancient home

of the Hungarian Parliament —, where the Maria Theresa statue of inestimable artistic value was demolished by Czech vandalism, the spot on which it formerly stood being still empty.

We recall the rich district of the Bácska too with the feelings of parents whose child has been stolen from them. And when the flight of the imagination carries us westwards, our eyes fall upon lovely Kismarton, — not the greatest, but certainly not the least painful, of the wounds inflicted upon the body of Hungary.

A ruthless and gaping wound is Transylvania too — just as cruel as that inflicted by the loss of the Highlands. The mountainous regions of that wonderful province continue the natural frontier of the Carpathians in the East and South-East of the true Hungary demarcated by Providence and unalterable by the hand of man. People who have been all over the world and know Transylvania too, all tell us that only North America has any imposing scenery of such astounding beauty to show.

And here too the thousand years' labours of the Magyars placed lovely towns amid the old-world beauties of Nature.

Arad was consecrated in Hungarian history by the martyrdom of the heroes of the Hungarian War of Independence. And if, following the mighty stream of the Danube, our imagination reaches the bleak and captivating beauties of the Iron Gate, and we ask when the power of Rumanian civilisation created this splendid triumph of engineering, we shall be told bashfully that this too — and all that we see in this part of the world — is the work of Hungarians.

All that is most beautiful in the artificially demarcated territories of all three Succession States has been stolen from us. Our lovely hills and lakes and plains and pine forests. Two-thirds of what was ours; and the loveliest two-thirds too. But the pines growing on the slopes of the Tatra or of the Hargitta range all echo the words of the Transylvanian poet of today:

„Under the snow too I remain green.“

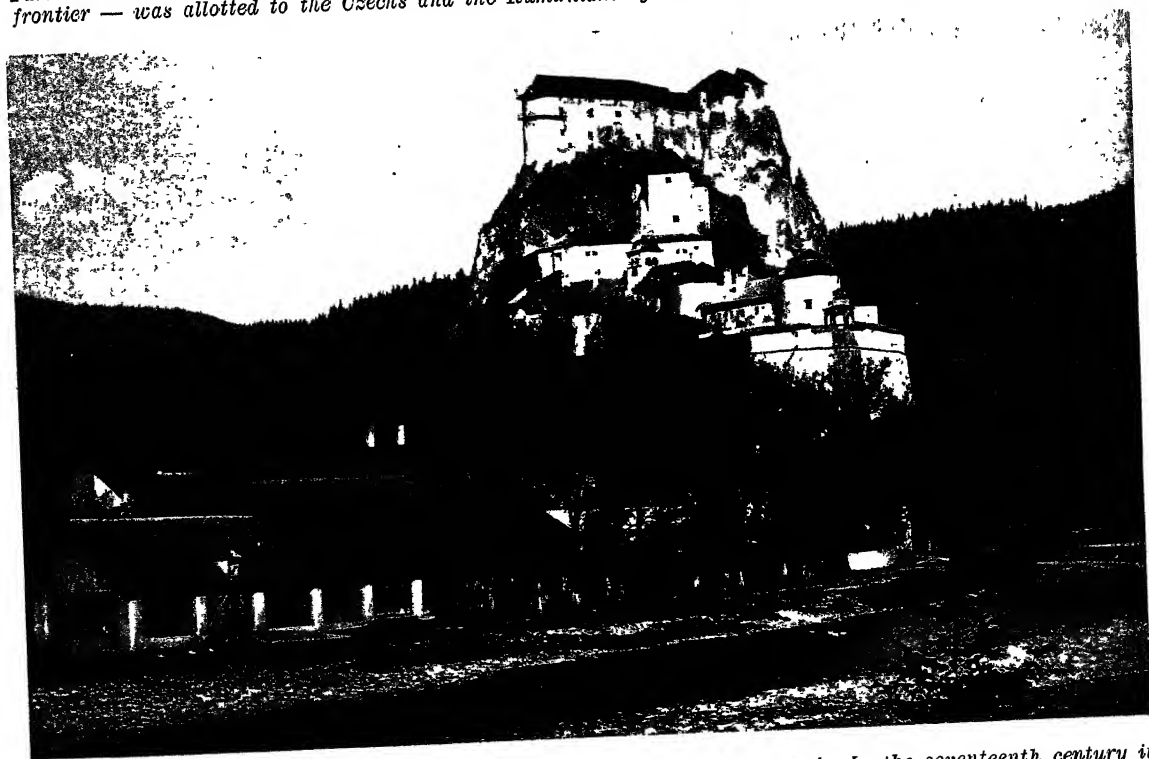
Beauty and justice are of God. Beauty is immortal; and so is justice.



Poppy-strewn Landscape. Painting by Paul Szinyei-Merse, now in the Budapest Fine Arts Museum. (G. Könyves Kálmán, Budapest). — Paul Szinyei-Merse was a Hungarian artist of outstanding eminence even judged by European standards; quite independently of the French artists of his own time who worked in a similar spirit — whom he indeed anticipated — he created his splendid landscapes characterised by an intoxicating beauty of colour and sunshine and by the vividness of their atmosphere. Paul Szinyei-Merse was so far ahead of his time that he had to wait many years before obtaining the appreciation of Europe and the whole civilised world. But this appreciation when it came gave the Hungarian pioneer his due. The Florence Uffizi Gallery has given the artist's portrait of himself a place of honour in the gallery of portraits of the greatest master-painters.



Tarn in the Tatra. The chain of the Carpathians — which had previously encircled Hungary as a natural frontier — was allotted to the Czechs and the Rumanians by the unjust decision of the Treaty of Trianon.



Arva Castle, the ancient home of the eminent Magyar family of the Thurzós. In the seventeenth century it came into the possession of the Thökölys. Arva Castle fell into the hands of the Czechs under the Trianon Peace Edict. (Photo by Erdélyi).



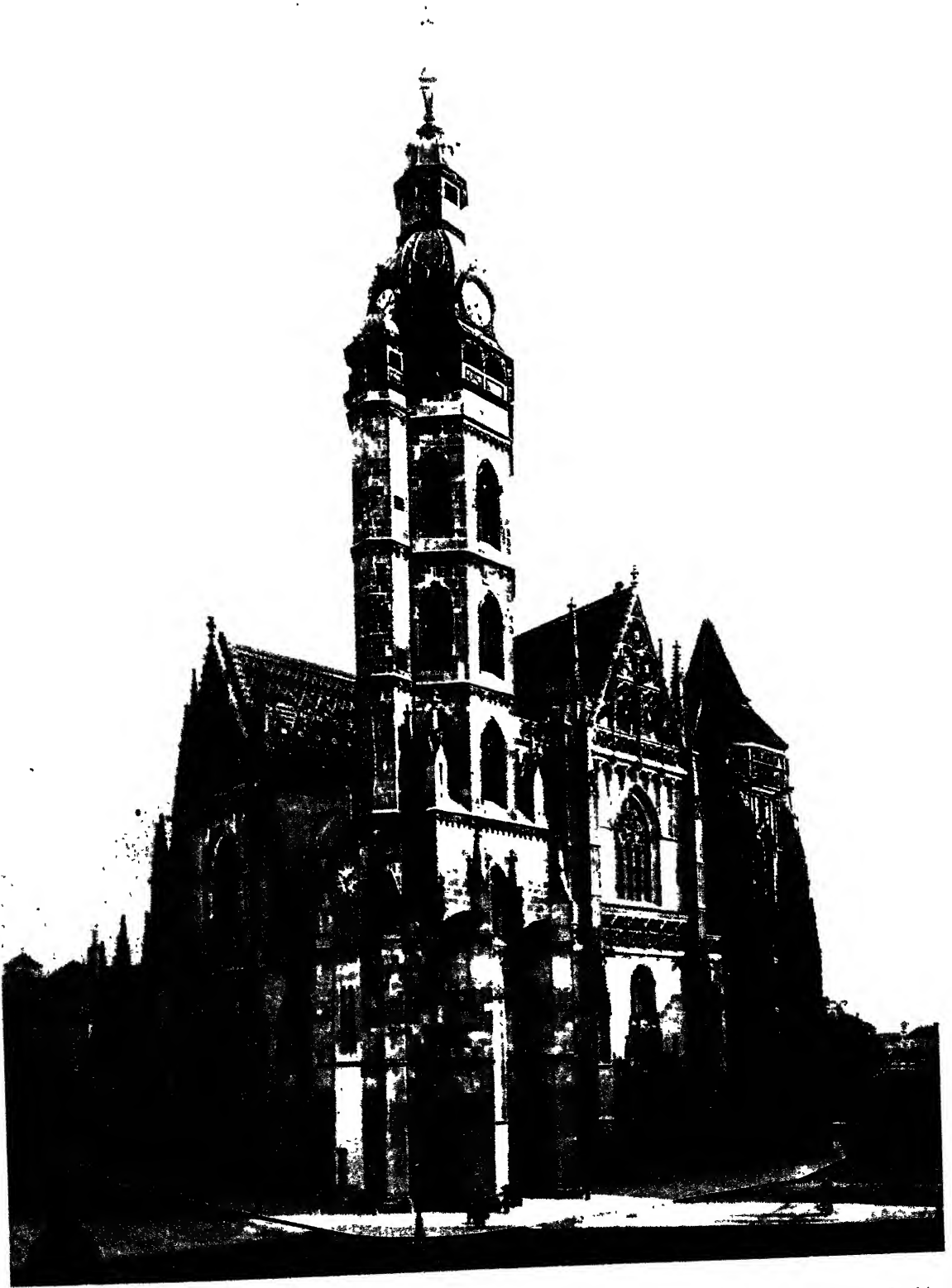
The statue of Maria Theresa formerly in Pozsony (Bratislava). Pozsony was for a very long period the Capital and coronation city of Hungary. It is no mere accident, therefore, that in this town where so many Habsburgs were crowned Kings of Hungary, and where the Parliaments sat for so long, the Hungarians after the conclusion of the Compromise with Austria erected in token of reconciliation a statue to that Maria Theresa who in 1740 in this same city of Pozsony appealed in Parliament to the „glorious Hungarian nation“ for protection for the throne threatened by Frederick the Great, King of Prussia. Hungary had the statue made by John Fadrusz, one of the most monumental and most gifted sculptors, not in Hungary only, but in the whole world. The Maria Theresa statue in Pozsony was one of the finest public square statues in Europe, and was undoubtedly the most beautiful piece of statuary in Hungary.



It represented the Queen on horseback, in her royal robes; on one side stood the figure of a bodyguard, symbolising the famous Hungarian guardsmen of Maria Theresa who in the Queen's Court developed into the champions of new literary and cultural tendencies: while on the other side stood a figure representing the Hungarian nobility offering „vitam et sanguinem“ in the service of their sovereign. Though never in any way con-

nected with the ancient Hungarian coronation city, to which they had not the shadow of a claim, under the Treaty of Trianon the Czechs managed to filch Pozsony too from us. And as soon as they had obtained possession of the town, they hastened to break in pieces its most beautiful ornament, Fadrusz's statue of Maria Theresa. In demolishing this statue, the Czechs not only showed the character of their „higher culture“, — not only committed an irreparable outrage against Hungarian art —, but hereby outraged also the feelings of chivalry which constitute one of the finest of Hungarian virtues. For the statue, with its inscription „vitam et sanguinem“, was in its whole composition the innocent embodiment of that Hungarian chivalry which at the first appeal of the young Queen made the Hungarians forget the sufferings and grievances of centuries, — which is incapable of leaving in the lurch the person raised to the dignity of the throne. We have succeeded in saving a few of the remaining fragments of the demolished statue, and are keeping them as sacred relics. On the one side you will see the torso of the head of Maria Theresa's statue; and on the other side the head of the guardsman's figure. These fragments tell us what has been the fate in the Trianon Succession States of the culture of which for a thousand years we were the champions.





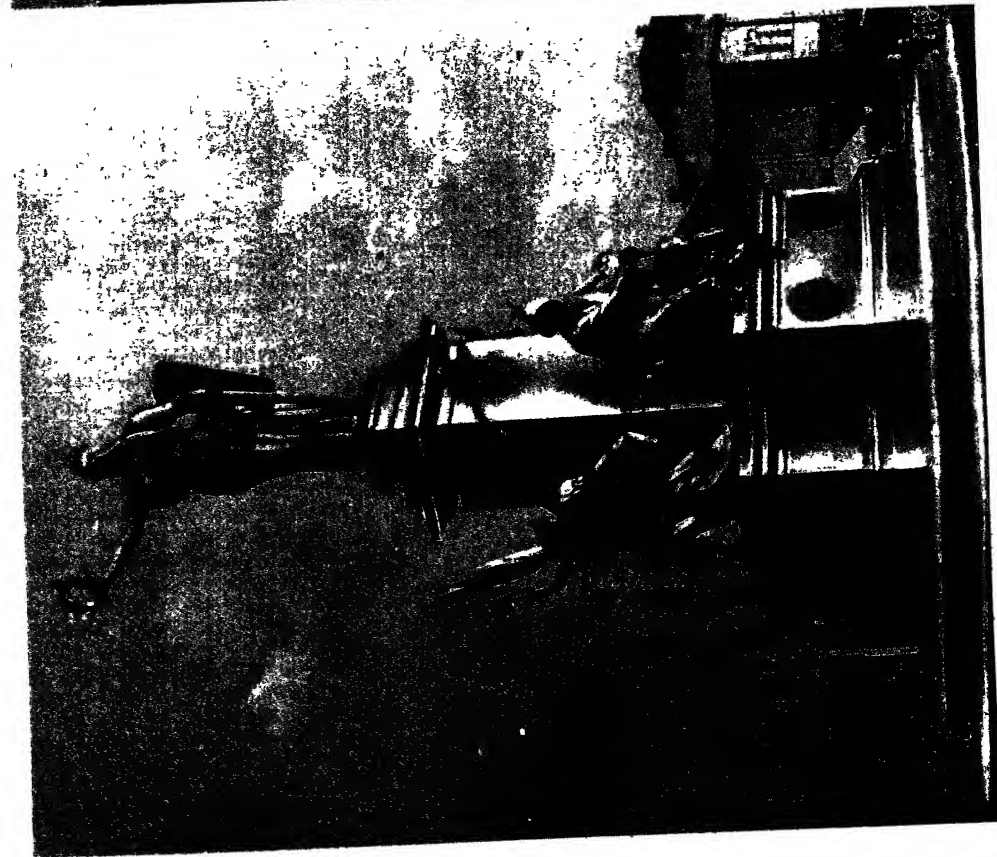
Kassa Cathedral. Superb Memorial of Medieval Hungary. Kassa was raised to a position of dignity beside Buda and Kolozsvár by King Matthias. Prior to the Treaty of Trianon it was the heart of the Hungarian Highlands. Every little bit of the city breathes Hungarian culture and reflects Hungarian glory. It teems with reminiscences of Francis Rákóczi II., the legendary hero of the Hungarian struggles for independence. In the crypt of the cathedral the mortal remains of Rákóczi (brought home from Rodostó, in Turkey) lie at rest. This pure Magyar town was allotted to the Czechs by the Treaty of Peace.



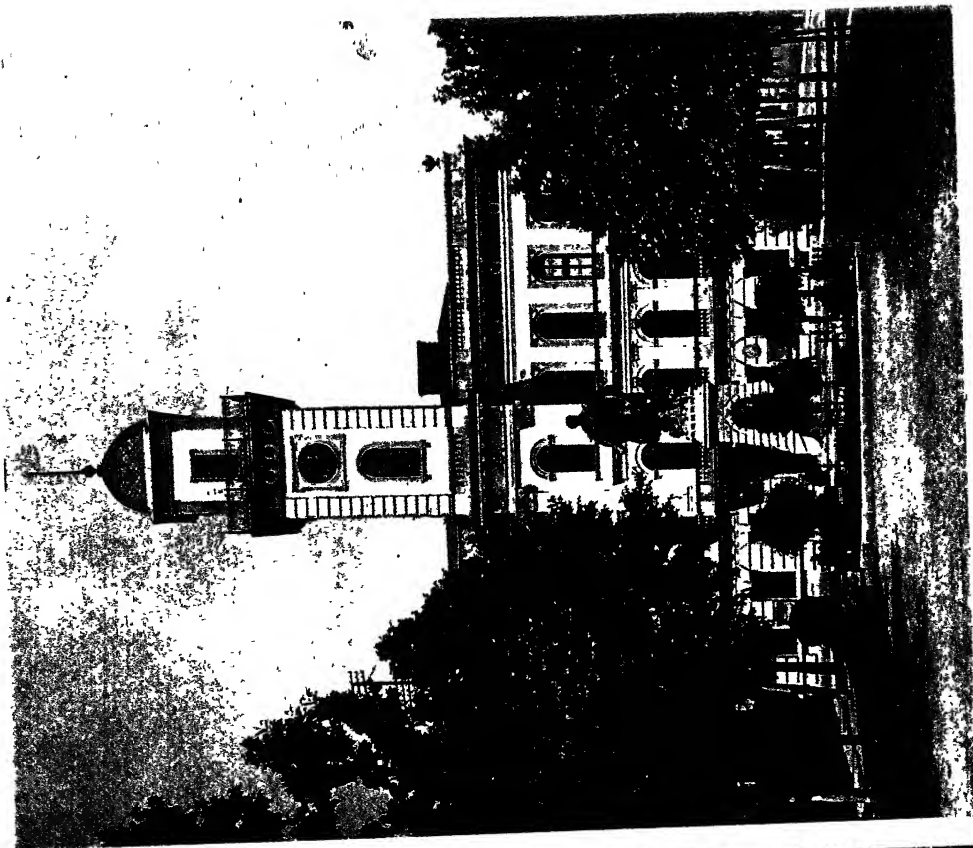
Körmöcbánya, mining town in Old Hungary, one of the most ancient and most interesting towns in the Highlands. In Hungarian days its population was only about 4500; but it possessed all kinds of cultural institutions, a museum, and a large number of industrial undertakings and handicrafts. It was here that the State mint was located. In the course of their centuries of rule the Hungarians converted Körmöcbánya — now in Czech hands — into a model thriving and contented mining town.



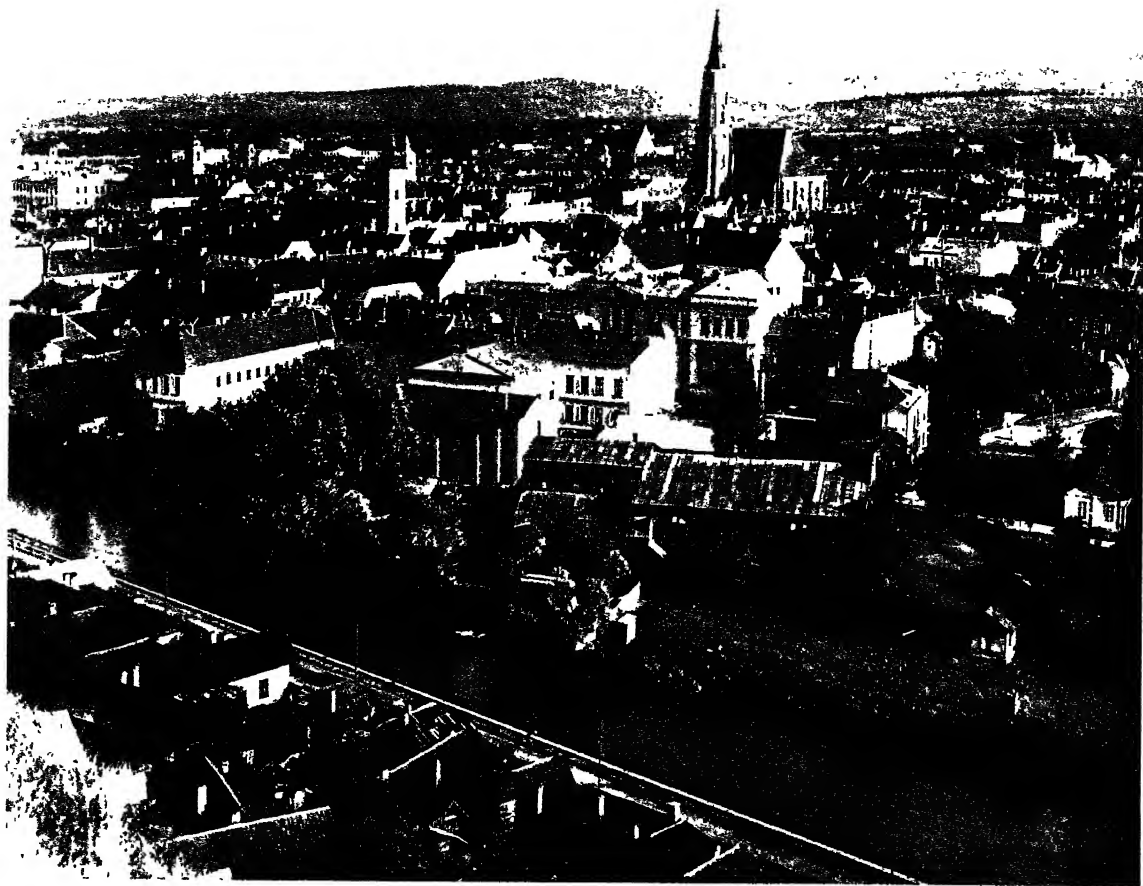
Selmecbánya. One of the most renowned of the ancient Hungarian mining towns. It was an important industrial centre of the County of Hont mining district in pre-Trianon Hungary. In the eighteenth century Maria Theresa founded a mining academy here. This ancient centre of Hungarian mining industry was allotted to the Czechs by Trianon.



Monument at Arad erected in memory of the Thirteen Martyrs of the War of Independence. — (Photo: by M. Erdélyi.)



The ancient Hungarian town of Komárom, which during the struggle for independence in 1848/49 held out longest against the superior odds of the Austrians. The name of Komárom is recorded on the most brilliant pages of Hungarian history. Trianon cut this pure Magyar town in two, presenting the northern half — in defiance of right and justice — to the Czechs. Our illustration shows the statue of General George Klapka, the heroic defender of Komárom, in front of the town-hall.



Kolozsvár, once the Capital of Transylvania, the land of the most glorious records of Hungarian history. For centuries „Kincses“ (Full of Treasures) Kolozsvár was the political and cultural centre of trans-Királyhágó Hungary (beyond the Királyhágó Pass). As far back as the days of the Emperor Trajan, the Roman soldiers occupying Dacia found an ancient town on this site, — Napoca, only the ruins of which were seen by the Magyars when they conquered Hungary. During the reigns of the kings of the House of Árpád it developed into an important city. In the XIV. century it was a veritable little State within the State; for it was overwhelmed with privileges by our kings. It was here that Matthias Corvinus, the great king, was born in 1443. The town heroically repulsed the most violent sieges of the Turkish forces. In the Middle Ages Kolozsvár was the town of liberty of conscience; it was here that Francis Dávid proclaimed his new faith — „God is One“; and Kolozsvár has ever since been the Rome of Unitarianism. As early as the XVI. century both the Reformed and the Unitarian Churches had colleges in Kolozsvár. It was here that the first Hungarian printing

press was set up, in 1580. From the XIV. century onwards Kolozsvár was chosen as their home by artists, silversmiths, painters and sculptors. Here too is the oldest Hungarian theatre — the National Theatre founded in 1821. Every stone in Kolozsvár speaks of Hungarian culture. Prior to Trianon there was no town in Hungary containing a larger number of — or finer — memorials of the grand efforts made by the Hungarian nation for centuries to act as the champion of Western culture on the threshold of the East. Kolozsvár was a town of noble elegance and aristocratism. It was inhabited at all times by Magyars; and it was Magyars who established the university, theatres and hospitals, and provided the modern technical equipment, of Kolozsvár. And Trianon gave Kolozsvár to Rumania. All the Rumanians have done is to change the inscriptions and signs; though they have naturally driven away the Hungarian savants and professors and doctors and actors and indeed all the Hungarian workers in the cause of culture. Our upper illustration is a general view of „Kincses“ Kolozsvár; the lower one showing the old National Theatre of Kolozsvár, the first home of Hungarian histrionics.





Statue of King Matthias Corvinus, in his native town of Kolozsvár. In 1443, in the Old Castle Ward of Kolozsvár, Elizabeth Szilágyi — gave birth to the greatest of the Hungarian Kings. Matthias raised to a prosperity never known before both the rest of Hungary and his own particular province of Transylvania, conferring special privileges upon the town of Kolozsvár. And the inhabitants of that town acquired considerable wealth during the golden age of Matthias, so that in later days, when in money difficulties, the Princes of Transylvania applied to the citizens of Kolozsvár for loans. At the close of last century Matthias's birthplace was restored as a token of his country's homage to his memory, and the Transylvanian Carpathian Association converted it into an ethnographical museum. Grateful posterity commissioned John Fadrusz, the Hungarian sculptor of monumental power to make a statue of King Matthias, erecting the same in the principal square of Kolozsvár. The Rumanians, who have successively demolished the Hungarian historical statues, leaving the spots formerly occupied by these superb art memorials empty or filling them by erecting monuments to the fictive legendary figures of their history, tolerated the presence of this lovely monument, subsequently announcing the necessity for removing the statue on the plea that „there was no room for traitors on Romanian soil“. — (Photo. by Frácllyi).



Nyitra Castle played an important role in Hungarian history. St. Stephen, first King of Hungary, in the XI. century founded an abbey on Mount Zobor in Nyitra. The picturesque town, together with all its Hungarian memorials, was allotted by Trianon to the Czechs.



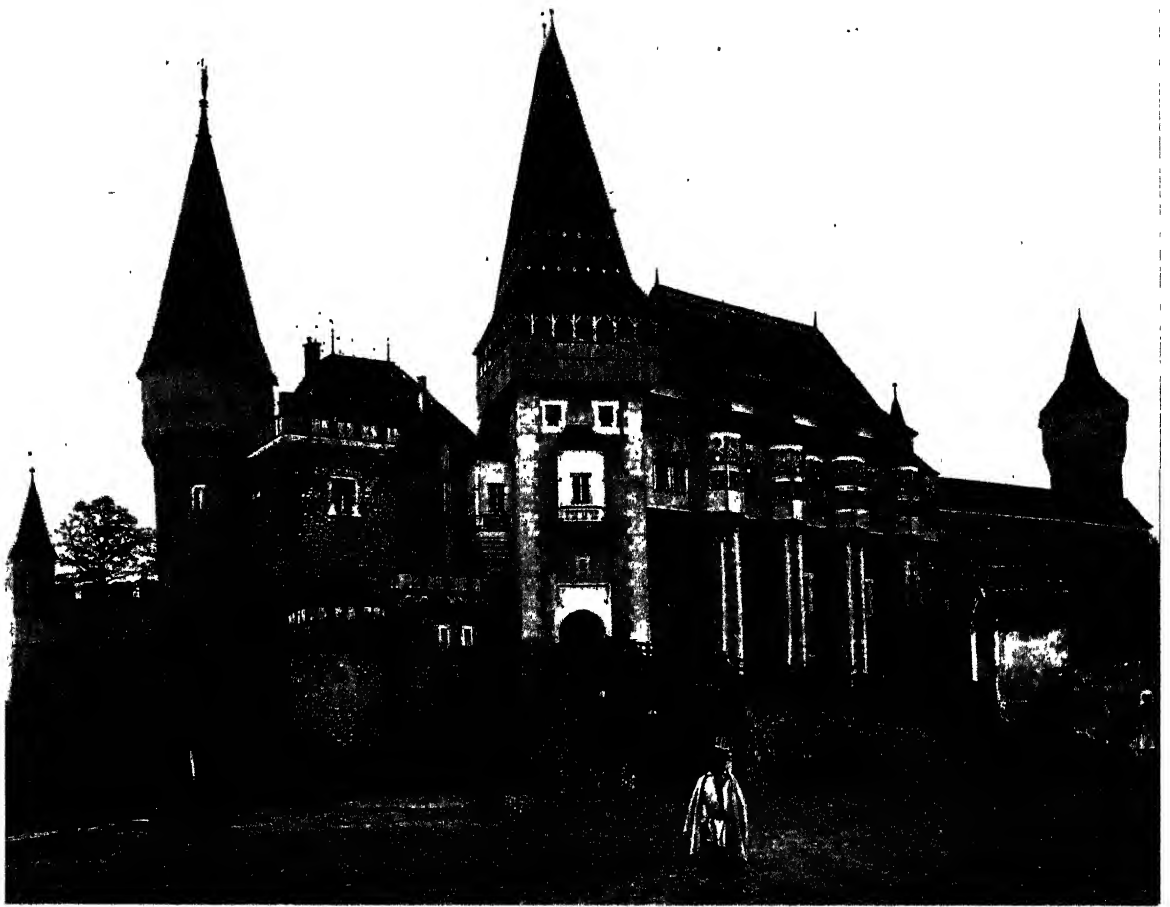
Nagyvárád, the liveliest and most cultured provincial town of pre-Trianon Hungary. It was the favourite residence of St. Ladislas, King of Hungary; and at all times it played an important role owing to its position on the boundary line between the Lowlands and Transylvania. Nagyvárád was raised by the affection of the Hungarians to the dignity of „the Hungarian Paris“ (its pet name in pre-War days); but this town with its pure Magyar culture was allotted by the Treaty of Trianon to the Rumanians.



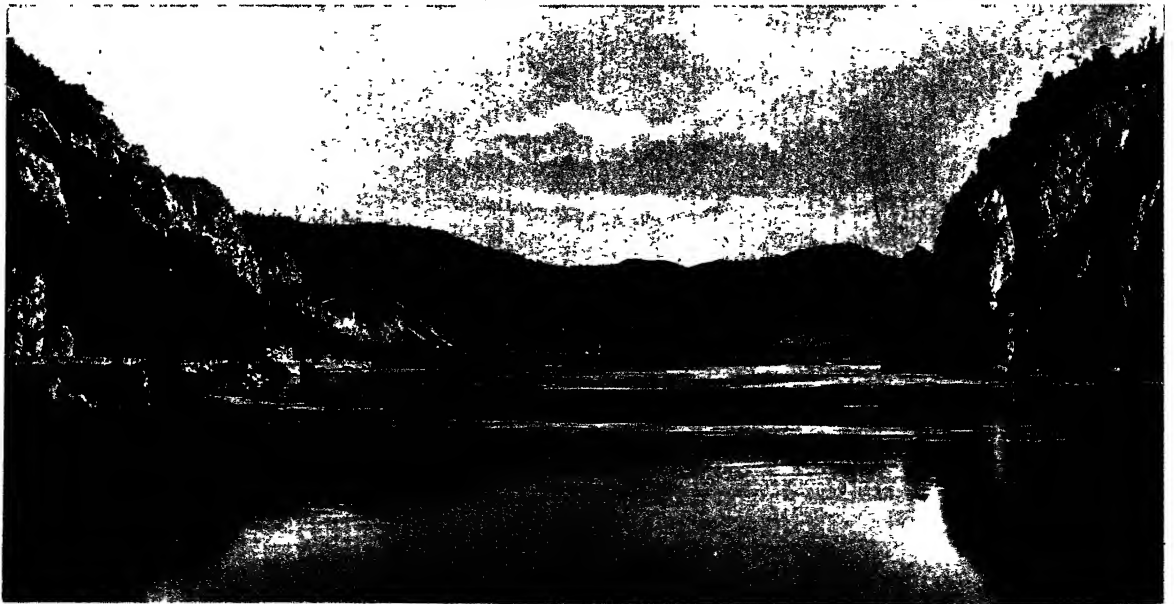
Lőcse Town Hall (XVI. century). As far back as the twelfth century Germans were settled in Lőcse by our kings; but the Czechs, to whom the Peace Edict has allotted this beautiful town of ours, never had any connection whatsoever with this centre of German culture.



Town Hall (XVI. cent.) of Brassó, the most beautifully situated and wealthiest town of pre-War Hungary, allotted to the Rumanians. (Photo: by M. Erdélyi.)



Vajdahunyad Castle, ancient home of the Hunyadi family, to which John Hunyadi, the scourge of the Turks, and his son Matthias, the greatest Maecenas of the Renaissance, belonged Vajdahunyad Castle was also allotted by the Peace Edict to the Rumanians, in whose hands all Hungarian art memorials are doomed to destruction. — (Photo. Erdélyi).



The Kazán Pass. The loveliest and most interesting section of the Lower Danube lying between the Serbian and former Hungarian shores. It was the Hungarians who made this section navigable; every stone and every cave on the river-banks tells of the struggles between the Hungarians and the Turks. Under the Treaty of Trianon, however, its left shore was allotted to Rumania, Southern Hungary being given to that country and to Serbia. — (Photo. Erdélyi.)



BUDAPEST.

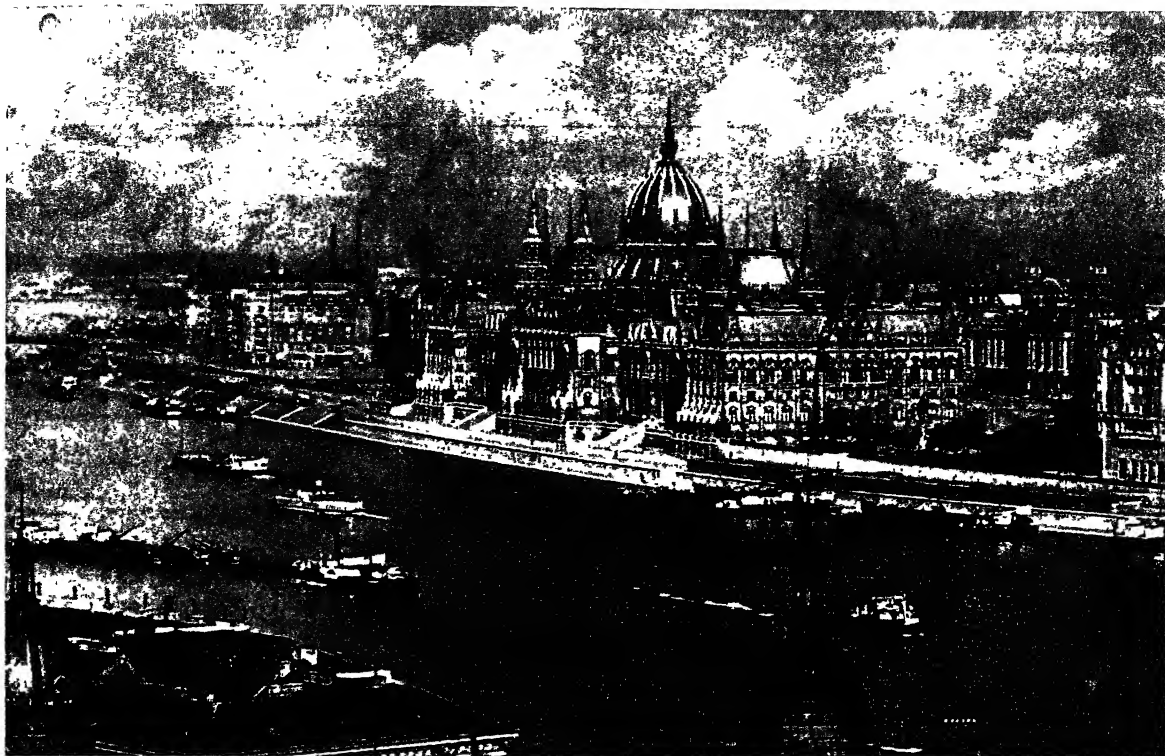
When in 1688 — the second year after the recovery of Buda from the Turks — the Dutch savant Jacob Toll arrived in Buda, he was spellbound as he surveyed the scene stretching before him. Yet what was Buda then? A heap of ruins! And what was Pest? A dirty little village! The spell exercised by Budapest even in its decay is evidence of the great rôle its position had destined it to play. Buda was the last stronghold of Western civilisation on the threshold of the East. It was for that purpose that the fortress was built seven centuries ago by King Béla IV. In those days the town survived the ordeal of the Tartar invasion; later it suffered from the Turks: and now it has passed through the trials and vicissitudes of a world conflagration and the sufferings entailed by a world blunder, without losing its character of double symbol — symbol alike of the vitality of the Magyars and of the international mission of the Magyar nation. Budapest has two faces, — the one shows a Magyar town, the other a cosmopolitan city. This is a wonderful phenomenon after such catastrophes and in days which are still days of disaster. Capital cities usually share the fate of their hinterland. Budapest has not perished, and is indeed flourishing so splendidly that it is able to hand its culture on to the other towns of the dismembered country, of the progress of which you will find a record also in this book. This manner of the advance of urban culture permits us to hope for a further development the benefits of which we shall be able to share also with our fellow-towns now situate in districts cut off from the mother country. Budapest is open alike to Budapesters, to the citizens of the other parts of Dismembered Hungary, and to those of our racial brethren who have been cut off from the mother country. The Chain Bridge is still here to welcome the Hungarians just as it welcomed them eighty years ago, at a period in their history also of a critical character. Hungarian and English brains combined to create this bridge, across which — to quote Széchenyi's

words — „handsome young Pest offers a hand of loyalty to the ancient castle hill of Corvinus“. On the ancient castle hill of Corvinus are gathered the memorials of the past, — the statue of John Hunyadi, the Church of King Matthias, etc... The Castle Hill of Buda is the crown of handsome young Pest — of Pest the city of flowers, — which however never forgets that its flowers grow in soil saturated with blood. This is what comes into our mind times without number, as we traverse the town; and, should we for a moment become oblivious thereof, we are reminded by the monuments representing the parts of Hungary cut off from the mother country. The square where these monuments stand was originally called Liberty Square after the liberty which we thought we had attained; it is now called Liberty Square after that liberty which we trust to achieve in the future. When during our walks in Pest we come to the monuments representing these parts of Hungary, we should not find any contradiction between the sadness and defiance expressed by the statues and the smiling aspect of the flower-decked city; we should find consolation in that other saying of Széchenyi's in which the great pessimist so hopefully described this town: — *Pest is the town of the future and of youth.*

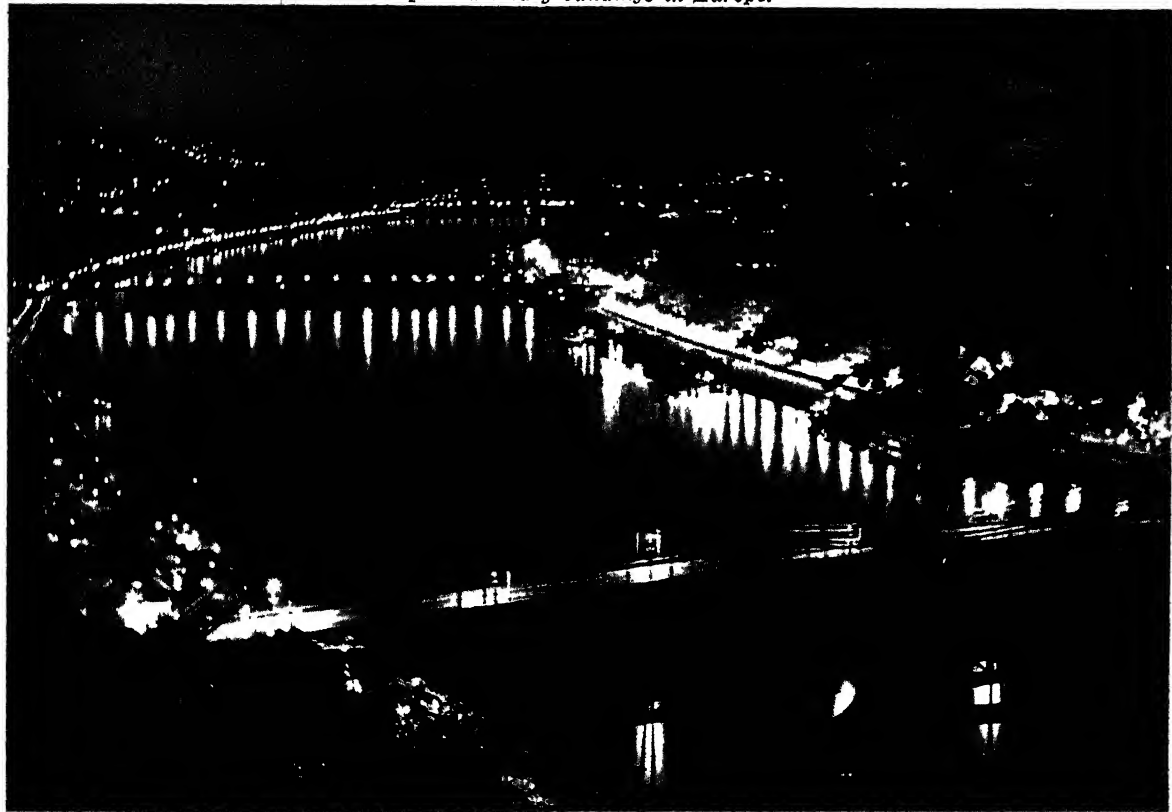
Since this saying was uttered by the Greatest Hungarian two generations have passed away; but there are no signs of Budapest growing old. With its youthful vigour unimpaired it has passed the milestone in the life of the great cities reached when the number of inhabitants rises to over a million. Our book shows only a few characteristic views of the Capital. A hundred times this number of pictures would not be too many; but the number included in the book will also suffice to enable us to recognise this beautiful, healthy big city progressing further on the path of development which even without walls is a mighty stronghold of the Hungarian people.



The Matthias (Coronation) Church, in Castle Ward, Buda. The church in which the Kings of Hungary were crowned: the finest example of medieval Hungarian Gothic architecture. — (Photo: by Rudolph Balogh.)



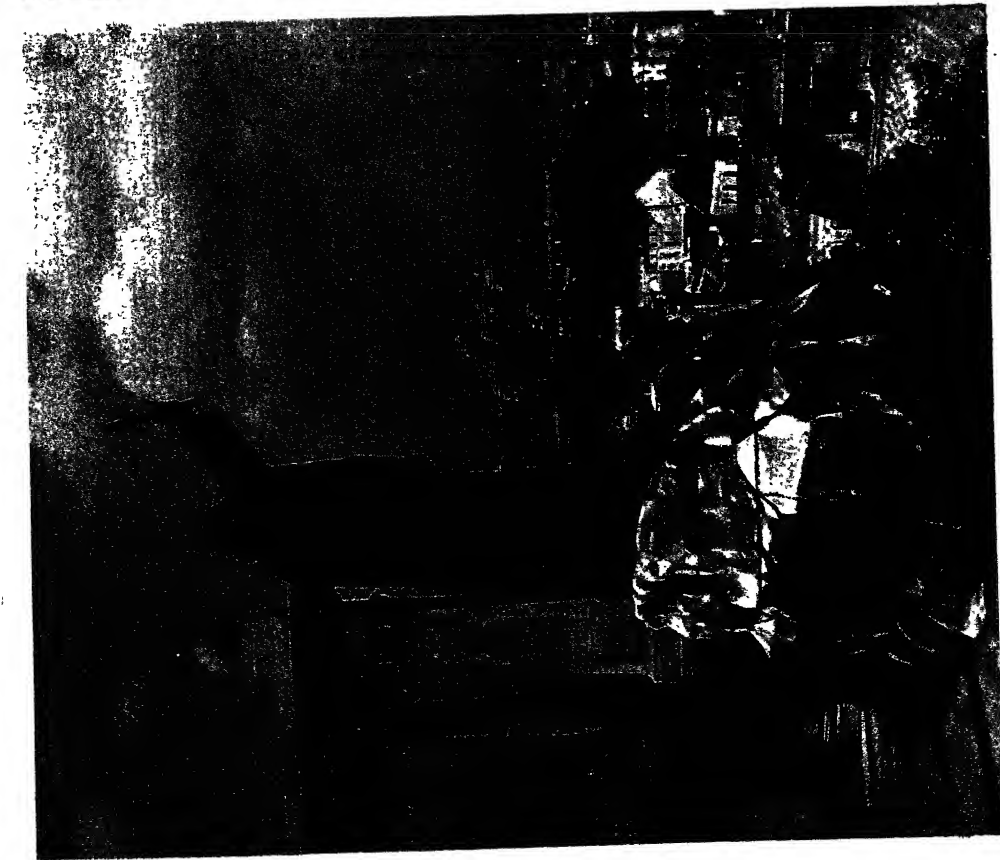
Hungarian Houses of Parliament, on the Danube Embankment, Budapest. One of the finest and largest parliamentary buildings in Europe.



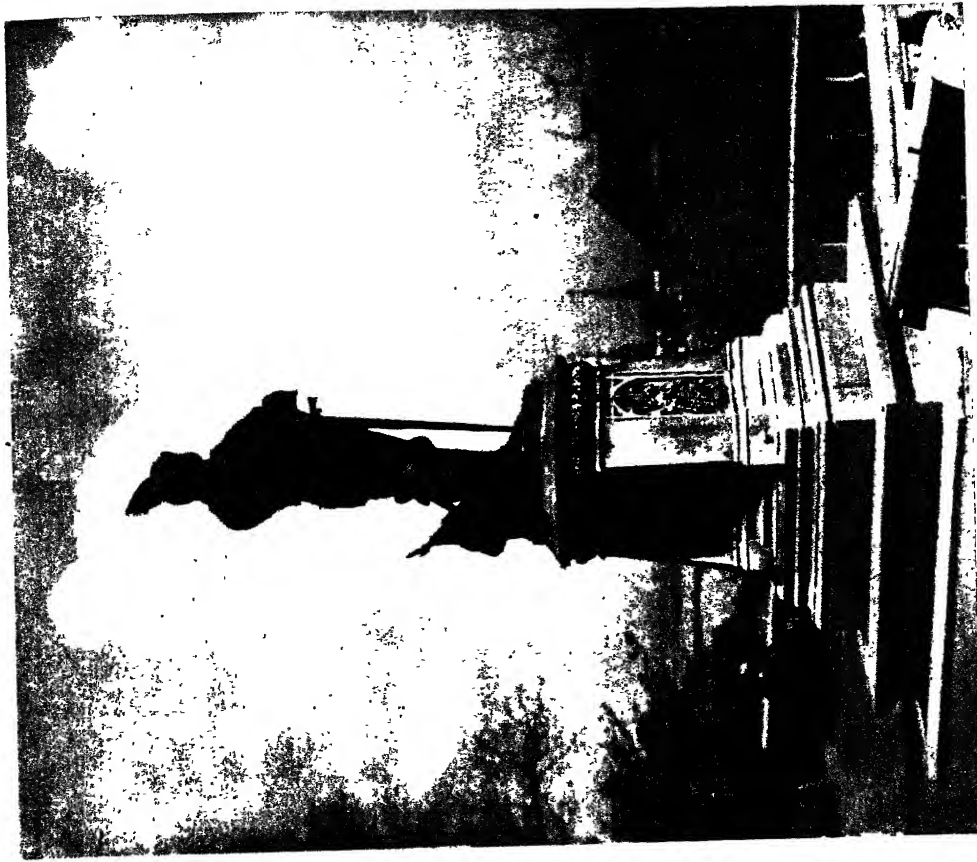
Budapest at Night: view from Mount Gellért, showing the illuminated Danube Embankment. Foreign visitors say that in beauty this fairy panorama rivals that of the Bosphorus.



In Szabadság-tér (Liberty Square) — which already in 1849 witnessed the martyrdom of dauntless heroes of the Hungarian love of liberty — these Hungarian irredenta statues were placed, after the model of the Strassbourg monument in Paris, in protest against the Treaty of Trianon. They are tragic records of the injustice done to Hungary, the reparation of which must be the demand of every person of feeling. The four statues have been called North, South, East and West, since our country has been dismembered in all four quarters.



Statue of St. Gellért: Mount Gellért, Budapest. St. Gellért (Gerard) was the leader of the Christian missionaries engaged in converting the Hungarians during the reign of St. Stephen, the first King of Hungary, to whose son, the young prince St. Imre (Emeric) he acted as tutor. In the background, behind the statue — which from its position in one of the loveliest spots of Budapest seems to be showering blessings on the Capital — the royal palace may be seen, with the Buda hills showing behind it.



Statue of John Hunyadi, Fisher Ramparts, Castle Ward, Buda. John Hunyadi, the greatest hero of Christendom, in the fifteenth century, at the head of his Hungarian armies, triumphantly checked the greatest general of the Turks for the conquest of Western Europe. He was the greatest general of his age, Regent of Hungary, and father of Matthias Corvinus, King of Hungary, the most powerful and cultured monarch of Renaissance Europe.

EMINENT REPRESENTATIVES OF HUNGARIAN ART, SCIENCE AND MUSIC.



Alexander Csoma de Kőrös (†1842), famous Asiatic explorer, won undying fame for his study of Tibetan tongue.



Farkas (Wolfgang) Bölgyai (†1856); he and his son John are among the greatest mathematicians the world has ever seen.



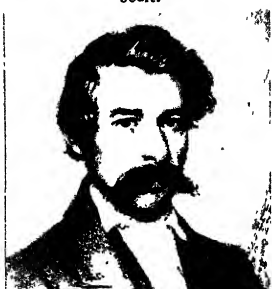
Count Gyula Andrássy sen. (†1890), one of the greatest statesmen and diplomats of Europe.



Stephen Türr (†1908), impetuous Hungarian soldier who served as general in the Italian War of Independence, and was Garibaldi's most trusted lieutenant.



Baron Joseph Eötvös (†1871), a prominent statesman and writer on philosophy of last century.



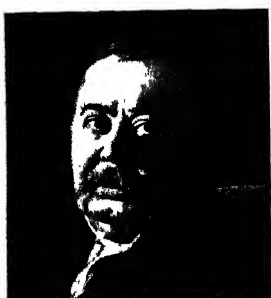
Arany János (John Arany) (1817—82), greatest artist of the Hungarian language both as epic and as lyric poet.



Maurice Jókai (1825—1904), greatest Hungarian storyteller. Still the most popular of our writers.



Imre Madách (1823—64), the greatest Hungarian writer of tragedy, author of „The Tragedy of Man”.



Kálmán Mikszáth (1843—1910), very original master of humour and the art of narration.



Géza Gárdonyi (1863—1922), great Hungarian story-teller with the soul of a poet and a style clear as crystal.



Francis Herczeg (born 1863), writer and dramatist, the greatest figure of present-day Hungarian literature.



Eugene Rákosi (1842—1929), the greatest Hungarian publicist, impetuous advocate of justice for Hungary.



Endre (Andrew) Ady (1877—1919), gifted poet, who created the new tone of the modern Hungarian lyric.



Francis Molnár, dramatist and novelist. His plays have achieved triumphs on every stage in the world.



Nicholas Ybl (†1891), gifted architect who built the royal palace, the Cathedral of St. Stephen, and the Opera House.



Edmund Lechner (†1914), architect, who created the modern Hungarian style of architecture.



Francis Liszt (1811—1886), greatest pianist of all times, leading figure of the musical romanticism of the XIX. century.



Charles Goldmark (1830—1915), eminent composer, whose name has been immortalised by his opera „The Queen of Sheba”.



Francis Erkel (1810—1893), distinguished composer, creator of the Hungarian national opera, composer of „Bánk Bán”.



Michael Munkácsy (1844—1900), the greatest of Hungarian painters, prominent figure among the European painters of the XIX. century.



Michael Zichy (1827—1906), great Hungarian painter and gifted illustrator who captivated the whole world by his art.



Philip László (born 1869), portrait painter living in England, the greatest representative of modern portrait-painting.



Joseph Joachim (†1907), violin virtuoso and teacher, whose successes obtained for him the post of Director of the Prussian College of Music.



Eugene Hubay (born 1858), one of the greatest masters of the violin. Eminent composer.



Ernest Dohnányi, pianist, composer and conductor. The greatest interpreter of Beethoven in the world.



Béla Bartók, one of the greatest musicians living. His art has earned for him the homage of the whole world.



Zoltán Kodály, composer of eminent importance, the most original master of the modern popular style.



Joseph Szigeti, violinist of European fame, one of the most eminent representatives of the modern virtuoso school.



Francis Lehár, celebrated composer of operettas. His pieces still triumphantly hold the stage in all countries of the world.



Maria Basildes, distinguished opera singer (contralto), an interpreter of song and oratorium famed and feted all over Europe.



Maria Németh, famous opera singer. With her lovely soprano voice she has won the homage of all Europe.



Imre Kálmán, composer of a whole series of charming and excellent operettas which have reaped success all over the world.



Ignatius Semmelweis (†1865), the great Hungarian physician who discovered the epoch-making treatment for the prevention of puerperal fever.



Ányos Jedlik (†1895), world-famed physicist, university professor, the gifted Hungarian discoverer of the principle of the dynamo.



Theodore Puskás (1845—93), Edison's gifted collaborator who introduced the telephone and invented the telephone exchange.



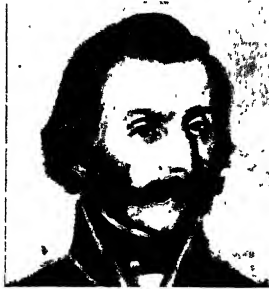
Baron Roland Eötvös (†1919), worldfamed physicist, who studied gravitation and earth magnetism. Inventor of world-famed Eötvös pendulum.



Paul Vásárhelyi (†1846), engineer, collaborated with Count Stephen Széchenyi, and carried out the improvement of the Lower Danube.



John Xantus († 1894), ethnographer, undertook explorations under the aegis of the U. S. A.



Samuel Brassay (†1897), eminent polyhistor, one of the most original of Hungarian linguists.



Arminius Vámbéry (†1913), famous traveller and orientalist. Explored the whole of Central Asia disguised as a dervish.



Louis Lóczy (†1926), geologist and geographer and traveller. Learned authority on Lake Balaton.



Ignatius Goldziher (†1922), explorer of East Asia, world-famed authority on oriental languages.



Stephen Apáthy (†1922), scholar, professor in Kolozsvár University. Was one of the victims of Rumanian occupation.



Ottokár Prohászka (†1927), great preacher, and eminent theologian, philosopher and sociologist.



Aurelius Stein, worldfamed archaeologist and linguist; his expeditions into Central Asia are of the highest importance for science.



Louis Biró, zoologist, scholar who has explored the undiscovered regions and islands of Australia and Australasia.



Philip Lénárd, one of the greatest physicists of modern times, professor in Heidelberg University; has won the Nobel Prize.

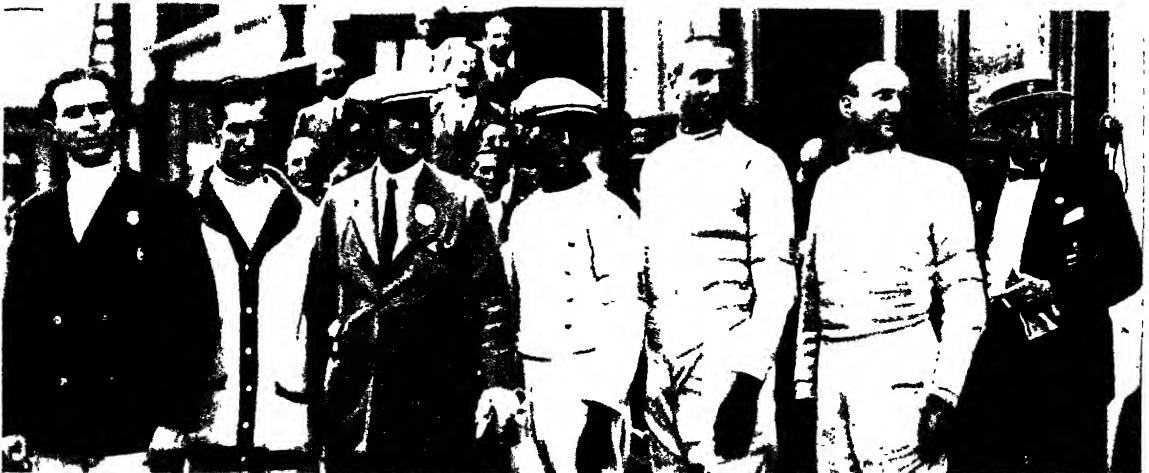


Robert Bárány, physician now professor in Upsala University; has also won the Nobel Prize.

EMINENT HUNGARIAN SPORTSMEN.



The Hungarian representative water-polo team, the best in the world. (Ivády, Bartha, Vértessy, Homonnay, Németh, Keserü II. and Keserü I.)



The Hungarian sword-fencing team which won the team championship of the world at the Amsterdam Olympic Games in 1928 (Attila Petschauer, Dr. Alexander Gombos, Dr. Ervin Mészáros, Olympic Captain, Gyula Glykais, Joseph Rády and John Garay.)



Edmund Terstyánszky † Fencing Champion at the Amsterdam Olympic Games, 1928.



Béla Kehrling, best Hungarian lawn tennis player.



Dr. Stephen Bárány, quickest amateur swimmer in the world.



Dr. Béla Vargha, middleweight wrestling champion of the world.



Sunday Parade of Mezőkövesd Girls wearing picturesque Hungarian costumes.



Sunday „Confabulation“ of Hungarian Village Girls wearing interesting, gaily coloured National Costumes.



„Do This in Remembrance of Me!“ — Painting by Stephen Csók, in the Budapest Fine Arts Museum. One of the leading masters of the present school of Hungarian painting is Stephen Csók, whose art has won for him the fullest appreciation esteem in foreign countries too. His portrait too has been placed in the gallery of portraits of master painters in the Florence Uffizi Gallery. This appreciation of Stephen Csók's specifically and thoroughly Magyar art is to be attributed to his strikingly pregnant expression of the peculiar colour and novel, characteristic tone contributed to the wealthy ensemble of European art by the Hungarians.



Herd of Cattle in the „Hortobágy“. Nowhere has the romance and wealth of the Hungarian steppes been preserved in such an intact form as in the district just outside Debrecen known as the „Hortobágy“.



Shepherd with Flock. „Hortobágy“ Scene. The flock of sheep know their master and obey him. And the shepherd too knows his flock so well that he is familiar with the peculiar characteristics of each individual sheep and is a veritable „personal acquaintance“ to them all.

MAGYAR HYMNUS.

Irta: Kölcsey Ferenc. — Zenéjét szerzette: Erkel Ferenc.

Poco adagio.

Ének.

Is - ten áldd meg a ma - gyart, Jó kedv - vel, bő - ség - gel;

Zongora.

pp

Nyujts fe lé - je vé - dő kart, Ha küzd el - len - ség - gel; Bal - sors a - kit

ré - gen tép, Hozz re - á vig esz - ten - dőt! Meg - bün - hőd - te már e nép a

ff

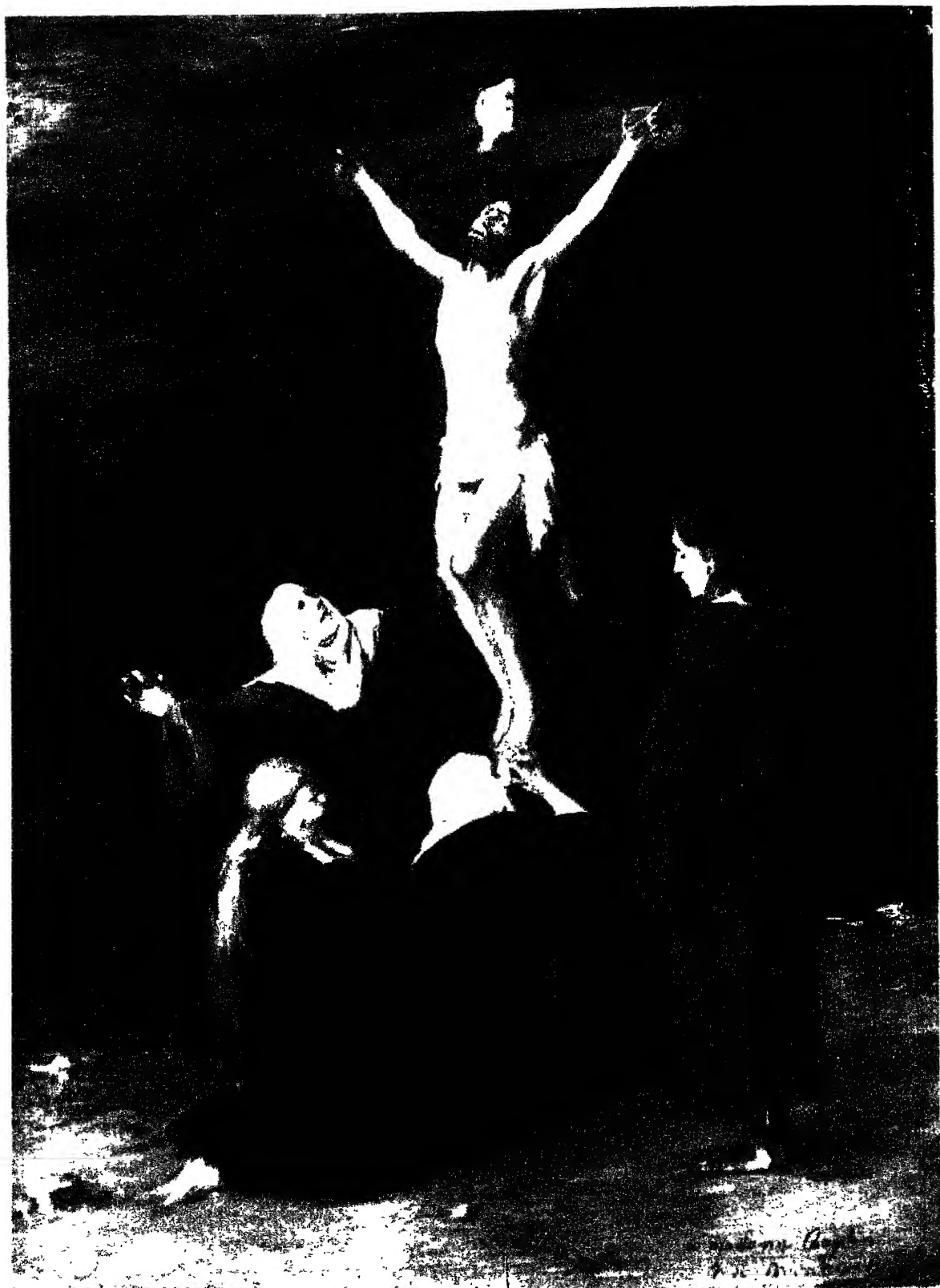
mul - tat 'sjö - ven - dőt! Meg bün - hőd - te már e nép a mul - tat 'sjö - ven - dőt!

HUNGARIAN HYMN.

by Francis Kölcsey. — Music composed by Francis Erkel.

God bless the Magyar
With mirth and with abundance
Reach a protecting arm to him
In his fights with enemies

Long pursued by misfortune
Give him now a cheerful year
This people have already atoned
For their past and the future.



Golgotha. — Painting by Munkácsy Mihály (Michael Munkácsy). Munkácsy is acknowledged to have been the greatest Hungarian painter of recent times. His gifts are appreciated also in America, where the best public and private collections can boast of possessing some of Munkácsy's masterpieces.

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